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Selections.

THE FREEDMEN OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

OFFICIAL REPORT.

PORT ROYAL, June 2, 1862.

To the Hon. S. P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury.

SIR: Upon the transfer of the supervision of affairs at Port Royal from the Treasury to the War Department, a summary of the results of this agency may be expected by you; and therefore this report is transmitted.

Your instructions of Feb. 19 entrusted to me the general superintendence and direction of such persons as might be employed upon the abandoned plantations, with a view to prevent the deterioration of the estates, to secure their best possible cultivation, and the greatest practicable benefit to the laborers upon them. The Department, not being provided with proper powers to employ upon salaries superintendents and teachers, under the plan submitted in my report of Feb. 3, enjoined coöperation with associations of judicious and humane citizens in Boston, New York, and other cities, who proposed to commission and employ persons for the religious instruction, ordinary education, and general employment of the laboring population. Authority was given to the Special Agent at the same time to select and appoint applicants for such purposes, and assign each to his respective duty—such persons, when compensated, to draw their compensation from private sources, receiving transportation, subsistence, and quarters only from the government. The Educational Commission of Boston had already been organized, and the organization of the National Freedman's Relief Association of New York followed a few days later. Still later the Port Royal Relief Committee of Philadelphia was appointed.

On the morning of March 9, forty-one men and twelve women, accepted for the above purposes and approved by the first two of the above Associations, disembarked at Beaufort, having left New York on the third of that month on board the United States transport the steamship Atlantic, accompanied by the Special Agent. The Educational Commission of Boston had commissioned twenty-five of the men and four of the women. The National Freedman's Relief Association of New York had commissioned sixteen of the men and five of the women, and three women from Washington City had received your own personal commendation. The men were of various occupations, farmers, mechanics, tradesmen, teachers, physicians, clergymen, ranging in age from twenty-one to sixty years. Not being provided with full topographical knowledge of the islands, it was necessary for the Special Agent to explore them for locations. At the close of the first fortnight after their arrival, the entire original delegation had been assigned to districts which they had reached. Since then, others have arrived, viz: fourteen on March 23, fourteen on April 14, and a few at a later date, making in all seventy-four men and nineteen women, who have been commissioned by the Associations, and receiving the permit of the Collector of New York, have arrived here, and been assigned to posts. Of the seventy-four men, forty-six were commissioned and employed by the Boston Society, and twenty-eight by that of New York. Of the nineteen women, nine were commissioned by the New York Society, six by that of Boston, one by that of Philadelphia, and three others not so commissioned, but approved by yourself, were accepted. Except in the case of the three women approved by yourself, no persons have been received into this service not previously approved by the associations with whom you enjoined coöperation. Of the seventy-four men, twenty-four were stationed on Port Royal Island, a few of these doing special duty at Beaufort, fifteen on St. Helena, thirteen on Ladies', nine on Edisto, seven on Hilton Head, three on Pinckney, one on Cat and Cane, one on Paris, and one on Dawfuskie. A few of the above returned North soon after their arrival, so that the permanent number here at any one time, duly commissioned and in actual service, has not exceeded seventy men and sixteen women. The number at present is sixty-two men and thirteen women. A larger corps of superintendents and teachers might have been employed to advantage, but as injurious results would attend the overdoing of the work of supervisors, it was thought best not to receive more, until experience had indicated the permanent need.

The following is a list of the islands, with the number of plantations and people upon them which have been superintended by the above persons:

Islands.	No. of Plantations.	Population.
Port Royal	56	1,909
St. Helena (including Dathan and Morgan)	53	2,721
Ladies' (including Wassa)		
Coosaw, Cat, and Cane	31	1,259
Hilton Head	15	943
Pinckney	2	423
Dawfuskie	3	69
Paris	5	274
Edisto	21	1,278
Hutchinson, Beef, and Ashe	3	174
Total	189	9,050

The above population is classified as follows: 309 mechanics and house servants not working in the field; 693 old, sickly, and unable to work; 3,619 children not useful for field labor, and 4,429 field hands. The field hands have been classified, as under the former system, into full, three-quarters, one-half, and one-quarter hands. The term one-quarter generally designates boys and girls of about 12 years, just sent to the field; the term half applies often to persons somewhat infirm, and to women *enceinte*, and the term three-quarters applies to those doing less than a full hand and more than a half hand. According to this classification, which will aid in arriving at the effective force, the field hands are made up of 3,202 full hands, 295 three-quarter hands, 597 half hands, and 335 one-quarter hands. Commuting the fractional into full hands, according to the custom of the former planter, in determining what crop should be required of the laborers, there results the equivalent of 3,805½ full field hands; 4,030 field hands were paid for work on the cotton crop. There is, then, a difference of 399 between this number and the entire number of field hands. The number making this difference do not appear to have worked on the cotton. Eighty-seven of them are found on Hutchinson, Beef, and Ashe, where they were sent from Otter Island, when it was so late as to make it unadvisable to attempt the planting of cotton. The statistics of population and classified laborers were taken some weeks before the pay-rolls were made, and a number of laborers sought employment at the camp in the intervening time. Some of the one-quarter hands were not employed in the cotton culture.

The mechanics and house servants on the plantations have not been profitably employed—the former, because they had not proper stock and tools, and we were not authorized to attempt improvements of any permanent or valuable character; the latter, because the superintendents were not accompanied by their families. Both classes were averse to field-labor, and occasioned considerable trouble. Some were assigned to the charge of gardens, and others went to the camps. The proportion of old, sickly, and disabled is large. The fugitive masters, who forced away many of their other slaves, were willing to leave these. The amount of disability among the people is generally quite large, due to moral and physical causes. There appears to be a want of vital energy in them such as often carries a feeble person safely through great toil and vexation. This may be ascribed partially to their vegetable diet, and partially to their former condition, which has nothing in it to give strength to will or purpose. Their bedding and sleeping apartments are unsuitable, and at night they sleep on the floor without change of clothing. As boatmen, they are often exposed, and do not properly care for themselves after exposure. During this season, small-pox has been prevalent, and deranged the labor on several plantations. For the purpose of staying it, there was a general vaccination, and a hospital was established on Port Royal Island, and put under the care of a physician employed by one of the benevolent associations. Six physicians have been employed and paid by them. It was an entirely inadequate corps for so extensive a territory, particularly as it was impossible to procure for them reasonable means of conveyance.

Since the above statistics were prepared, some 200 fugitives have come to Port Royal and Edisto, and have been distributed on the plantations. Besides, the table does not include negroes at any of the camps at Beaufort, Hilton Head, Bay Point, and Otter Island, who are under the control of the Quartermaster Department. These will amount, with their families, to 2,000 persons, or more. They have not been under the Treasury Department, but they have been instructed by the teachers and attended by the physicians, and they have shared in the distribution of clothing contributed by the associations. The able-bodied men have been employed on wages, very much relieving the soldiers of fatigue duty.

Some of the smaller of the above islands have only been visited by the superintendents, who are stationed on other islands—the visits being made two or three times a week.

Five of the women authorized as above have resided at the junction of Ladies' and St. Helena Islands. The rest have resided on Port Royal, most of those at Port Royal living at Beaufort. Their labors have been directed, some to teaching daily schools and others to the distribution of clothing, to the visitation of the sick among these people, and to endeavors for the improvement of their household life. They have been welcomed on plantations where no white woman had been since our military occupation began. A circle at once formed around them, the colored women usually testifying their gladness by offering presents of two or three eggs. Their genial presence wherever they have gone has comforted and encouraged these people, and without the coöperation of refined and Christian women the best part of this work of civilization must ever remain undone.

The superintendents have generally had five or six plantations in charge, sometimes one, aided by a teacher, having under him three, four, and even five hundred persons. The duty of each has been to visit all the plantations under him as often as practicable, some of which are one, two, three, and even four miles from his quarters—transport to them implements from the store-houses, protect the cattle and other public property upon them, converse with the laborers, explaining to them their own new condition, the purposes of the government toward them, what is expected of them in the way of labor, and what remunerations they are likely to receive; procure and distribute among them clothing and food, whether issued in army rations or contributed by the benevolent associations; collecting the materials of a census; making reports of the condition and wants of the plantations and any peculiar difficulties to the Special Agent; drawing pay-rolls for labor on cotton, and paying the amounts; going when convenient to the Praise meetings, and reading the Scriptures; instructing on Sundays and other days those desirous to learn to read as much as time permitted; attending to cases of discipline, protecting the negroes from injuries, and in all possible ways endeavoring to elevate them, and prepare them to become worthy and self-supporting citizens. Such were some of the labors cast upon the superintendents, for which, as they were without precedent in our history, none could have had special experience, and for which, in many cases of difficulty, they were obliged to act without any precise instructions from the Special Agent, as he had received none such from the government. In a very few instances, there appeared a want of fitness for the art of governing men under such strange circumstances, but in none a want of just purpose. Many toiled beyond their strength, and nearly all did more than they could persevere in doing. A knowledge of the culture of cotton was found not necessary in a superintendent, though it would have facilitated his labors. On this point the laborers were often better informed than their former masters. Indeed, those persons who might already have possessed this knowledge, and applied for the post of superintendent, would have been likely in gaining it to have acquired ideas of the negroes as slaves, and of the mode of dealing with them as such, prejudicial to their success in this enterprise. The duty to be performed has consisted so much in explaining to the laborers their new conditions and their relations to the government, and in applying the best spiritual forces to their minds and hearts, that just purposes, and good sense, and faith in the work have been of far more consequence than any mere experience in agriculture; and, even in the more practical matters, those who had the most inspiration for the service were found the most fertile in resources, and the most cheerful and patient in encountering vexations and inconveniences. It would not be easy again to combine in a body of men so much worth and capacity, and it is but a deserved tribute to say that but for their unusual zeal and devotion under many adverse influences, added to the intrinsic difficulty of the work itself, this enterprise, on which patriotism and humanity had rested their faith, would have failed of the complete success which has hitherto attended it.

It is proper to add that an accomplished woman accepted the superintendence of a single plantation, in addition to other duties for which she specially came, and carried it on successfully.

Upon the arrival of the superintendents, the plantations were generally unsupplied with tools, even hoes—those on hand being the tools used last year, and a few found in the shops at Beaufort. Some $3,000 worth of plows, hoes, and other implements and seeds were intended to come with the superintendents. The negroes had commenced putting corn and potatoes into their own patches, and in some cases had begun to prepare a field of corn for the plantation. No land had been prepared for cotton, and the negroes were strongly indisposed to its culture. They were willing to raise corn, because it was necessary for food, but they saw no such necessity for cotton, and distrusted promises of payment for cultivating it. It had enriched masters, but had not fed them. Soldiers passing over the plantations had told them in careless speech that they were not to plant cotton. As this was a social experiment, in which immediate industrial results were expected, it seemed important that all former modes of culture should be kept up, and those products not neglected for which the district is best adapted, and which, in time of peace, should come from it. Besides, when a people are passing through the most radical of all changes, prudence requires that all old habits and modes of labor not inconsistent with the new condition should be conserved. Particularly did it seem desirable that the enemies of free labor in either hemisphere should not be permitted to say exultingly, upon the view of a single season's experiment here, that a product so important to trade and human comfort could not be cultivated without the forced, unintelligent, and unpaid labor of slaves. Therefore, no inconsiderable effort was made to disabuse the laborers of their pretty strong prejudice on this point, and to convince them that labor on cotton was honorable, remunerative, and necessary to enable them to buy clothing and the fitting comforts they desired. It was not made in vain; and its necessity would in the main have been dispensed with, if we had had in the beginning the money to pay for the labor required, and the proper clothing and food to meet the just wants and expectations of the laborers. At the same time, the importance of raising an adequate supply of provisions was enjoined, and with entire success. On this point there was no trouble. The amount of these planted is equal to that of last year, in proportion to the people to be supplied, and probably exceeds it. The negro patches are far larger than ever before, and as these had been begun before we arrived, we were unable to make them equal on and if harvested in peace, would probably prevent any famine. On the whole, it is quite certain that without the system here put in operation the mass of the laborers, if left to themselves and properly protected from depredations and demoralization by white men, would have raised on their negro patches corn and potatoes sufficient for their food, though without the incentives and moral inspirations thereby applied, they would have raised no cotton, and had no exportable crop, and there might, under the uncertainties of the present condition of things, have been a failure of a surplus of corn necessary for cattle and contingencies, and for the purchase of needed comforts. There is no disposition to claim for the movement here first initiated that it is the only one by which the people of this race can be raised from bondage to the new condition, provided equal opportunities and an equal period for development are accorded to them as to communities of the white race. But it seems to have been the only one practicable where immediate material and moral results were to be reached, and upon a territory under military occupation.

The preparation of the ground for planting begins usually about Feb. 1. It was not until March 24 that the superintendence of the plantations under the present system can be said to have been in operation—the first fortnight being occupied by the superintendents, upon their stations being assigned, in going to them with a moderate supply of implements. The planting, except of the slip potatoes, which are planted in July, some cow-peas, and a small quantity of corn, closed in the week ending with May 10. Each superintendent, in response to a call from the Special Agent, has furnished a written statement of the acres of cotton, corn, potatoes, and vegetables then planted on each plantation in his district, with an estimate of the amount thereafter to be planted, the figures of which have been arranged in a tabular form, presenting the amount of each kind on all the plantations on all the islands where agricultural operations are being carried on under the protection of our forces. It is with pleasure that the aggregate result is here submitted. It makes (adding the negro patches to the corn-fields of the plantations) 8,315 12-100 acres of provisions (corn, potatoes, etc.) planted, 5,480 11-100 acres of cotton planted—in all, 13,795 23-100 acres of provisions and cotton planted. Adding to these the 2,394 acres of late corn, to a great extent for fodder, cow-peas, etc., to be planted, and the crop of this year presents a total of 16,189 23-100 acres. The crops are growing, and are in good condition. They have been cultivated with the plow and hoe, and the stalks of cotton have been thinned, as is usual at this stage of their growth. They are six or eight, and in some fields twelve inches high. Next month will close the work of cultivation. Notwithstanding the recent withdrawal of six hundred able-bodied men from the plantations for military purposes—a very large proportion of the working force—the spirit of the laborers has so improved that, according to present expectations, only a small proportion of the above acres already planted will have to be abandoned. The effect of the order will, however, be to diminish the number of acres to be planted, as the estimate was made just before it was issued.

The statistical table presenting the aggregate result on each island is here introduced. The full tabular statement, giving the amount of each crop planted on each of the one hundred and eighty-nine plantations, also accompanies this report.

Islands.	No. acres of Corn planted.	No. acres of Potatoes (pool) pl. nted.	No. acres of Cotton planted.	No. acres of Provisions planted — as Potatoes, Peas, Rice, &c.;	No. acres of Provisions planted by Laborers on their own account.	Total No. of acres planted.	No. acres of Fodder (drip) Cow Peas, etc., to be planted.
Port Royal	1,646¾	176	1,257 75-100	81	362½	3,523¾	540¾
Ladies' (Wassa)							
Coosaw, Cat, and Cane	941	112¾	1,042 75-100	41	375¼	2,512¼	432¼
Hilton Head	381¾	49¾	659 10-100	13	211	1,314 44-100	No return.
St. Helena (including Dathaw and Morgan)	1,305	238¼	1,554 67-100	74¾	703¾	3,875 09-100	834¾
Pinckney	154	24	247 60-100	6	157	678	60
Paris	169	No return.	697 25-100	14	135	243 10-100	No return.
Edisto	854	122		No return.	84	1,738¾	286
Hutchinson, Beef, and Ashe				24		84	240
Total	5,332¼	735¼	5,480 11-100	219¾	2,027¼	13,795 23-100	2,394

Satisfactory as the result is, the crop would have been considerably larger but for several unfavorable circumstances.

In the first place, the laborers had just passed through four months of idleness and confusion, during which the only labor done by the great mass of them was upon the baling and local transportation of the cotton. During this time they had had no assurances as to their future, no regular employment, no care of their moral interests, no enlightenment as to their relations to this war, except the careless and conflicting talk of soldiers who chanced to visit these plantations, and whose conduct toward them did not always prepossess them in favor of the ideas of Northern men as to the rights of property or the honor of women. The effects of this injurious season had to be met at the threshold, and, as far as could be, removed.

The usual season for preparing for a crop had already advanced six weeks before the superintendence and the distribution of implements commenced. Beside the labor thus lost, there was no time to devise useful plans for abridging it, and so conducting it as to be able to ascertain definitely what each had done, and to how much each was entitled. The working of all the hands together is not the best mode for this purpose, but we had no time to change the course pursued the year before. In the future, it will probably be found that when there is time to arrange accordingly, the best mode will be to assign a piece of land to each laborer, and thus the amount done and the proportionate compensation due, can be more justly fixed. Nothing is found to discourage faithful laborers so much as to see the indolent fare as well as themselves. Even now, since the close of planting, some of the superintendents, impressed with this difficulty, have allotted pieces of ground in that way, and they report that this plan works well. It will, besides, introduce ideas of independent proprietorship on the part of the laborers, not so likely to come from what is called the "gang" system. The same cause—viz., the lateness of the season, together with the insufficient means of fencing—required the selection of such fields for cultivation as could be best protected from cattle, and not such as could be most easily and productively worked.

There was an inadequate supply of implements when the work commenced. A small quantity, less than that required, was purchased, and was to have been sent with the superintendents; but, by some accident, the larger part of the hoes and some other articles were left behind, and did not come till some weeks later.

The plantations were bereft of mules and horses necessary for plowing and carting manure. The former owners had taken away the best in many cases, and nearly all the workable mules and horses remaining had been seized by our army for quartermaster and commissary service. On a long list of plantations not a mule was left to plow. Others had one only, and that one blind or lame. On none was there the former number. The oxen had been, to a great extent, slaughtered for beef. The laborers had become vexed and dispirited at this stripping of the plantations, and they had no heart to attempt the working of them productively. Indeed, in some cases, it did seem like requiring them to make bricks without straw. At last, in answer to a pressing appeal to the Treasury Department by the Special Agent, ninety mules were forwarded from New York, forty arriving at Beaufort on the 18th April, and fifty on the 21st. Within three days after their arrival, they were distributed, except some dozen intended for localities not so accessible. This was a most necessary consignment. It made the hand-labor available, and showed the laborers that the government was in earnest in carrying on the plantations. The recognition of their complaints of the want of them helped to give confidence. This reënforcement of the implements of labor must have added not far from 2,000 acres to the crop of this year, and perhaps even more.

Another difficulty was found in the destitution of corn prevalent in many districts, as Port Royal, Hilton Head, and Paris Islands. In some localities, it had been burned by the rebels. It had been taken in large quantities by our army for forage, under orders of Gen. Sherman, and the result indicated as soon at hand in the report of the Special Agent of Feb. 3, had already arrived. The first week after the return of the Special Agent here was passed in exploring locations for superintendents in Port Royal. Everywhere he was met with complaints that there was no corn or provisions. A few rations had been doled out, but only on a few plantations, and without system or regularity. It took some two or three weeks there, and longer on other islands, to get a system in operation under which the negroes, where the corn had been taken, or there was destitution, should receive a part of a soldier's ration. From Ladies' Island the corn had been taken largely, and it was thought it might be supplied by a possible surplus on St. Helena. On these islands there was considerable discontent on account of the exclusive diet of hominy, and a great call for meat, molasses, and salt. On some of the best conducted plantations these articles had formerly been furnished by the planters, in small quantities, at some seasons. So many cattle had been taken by the army for beef, that, following his instructions, which required him to prevent the deterioration of the estates, the Special Agent hesitated to continue the slaughter. Salt was twice furnished to these two islands by a special purchase—a quart being given to a family. At length, a consignment of $2,000 worth of provisions, for which an appeal had been made early in March, consisting of bacon, fish, molasses, and salt, arrived, being delayed by many accidents, and forwarded by the Port Royal Relief Committee of Philadelphia. Bacon and fish, to the amount of three pounds of the former and one pound of the latter to a grown person, were distributed May 15, and a distribution of molasses has since been made of one quart to a family. The laborers have been greatly encouraged by this distribution; and if it could have been made earlier, or rations could have been issued earlier, the crop would have been increased, and we should have been relieved of many grievous complaints, the justice of which we were compelled to confess, without the power to remove them.

Again, the laborers had but very little confidence in the promises of payment made by us on behalf of the government. The one per cent. a pound which had been promised on the last year's crop of cotton, mostly stored when our military occupation began, and for the baling and local transportation of which the laborers had been employed in November and December last, had not been paid. This sum, even if paid, was entirely inadequate to supply the needed clothing and other wants, and it would seem that the laborers were fairly entitled upon the taking of the cotton which they had raised, to have been paid for the labor expended by them in raising it, or if they were to be paid only for the labor of baling and transporting, that they should have been provided with the winter clothing which their masters had not furnished before they left. The destitution of clothing was such as to produce much discontent, subsequently relieved to a considerable extent by the benevolent associations. The Special Agent was not provided with funds to pay for labor on this year's crop until April 28. Then the moderate sum of $1 per acre was paid for cotton planted by April 23, being distributed among the laborers according to the amount done by each. This was paid on account, the question of the value of the labor already done being reserved. This payment quickened the laborers very much, and the work went rapidly forward until May 10, when the time for closing the regular planting season arrived. Indeed, from the beginning, where they could clearly see that they were to receive the rewards of their labor, they worked with commendable diligence. Thus they worked diligently on their negro patches at the time when we had the most difficulty in securing the full amount of proper work on the plantations. Not the least among our troubles was, that many able-bodied men had gone to the camps at Beaufort, Hilton Head, and Bay Point, where they were profitably employed on wages, occasionally returning to the plantations, where their wives remained, to display their earnings and produce discontent among the unpaid laborers on them. No money has been paid for the planting of corn, or of vegetables, except in the case of a large garden of ten acres, it being expected that these products will be consumed on the plantations. A second payment for the cotton planted since April 23, and at the same rate as the first, has been made. In all, the sum of $5,479 65 has been paid for 5,480 11-100 acres of cotton, with $10 more for the garden of vegetables. Four thousand and thirty persons received their proportions of this sum. Small as the payment was, the laborers received it with great satisfaction, as, if nothing more, it was at least a recognition of their title to wages, and to treatment as freemen. Accurate pay-rolls for each plantation, with the name of each laborer and the amount paid, and certified by the superintendents, are preserved.

These drawbacks are not stated with any intention to cast blame on the government, already overcharged with transcendent duties; but it seemed fitting to mention them in order to do full justice to laborers who are passing from one condition to another.

The order of Major-Gen. Hunter, compelling the able-bodied men to go to Hilton Head on May 12, where a proportion of them still remain against their will, produced apprehension among these people as to our intentions in relation to them, and disturbed the work on the plantations, the force of which has been greatly reduced, leaving the women, and children over 12 years of age, as the main reliance on many plantations. The Special Agent entered a protest against the order and its harsh execution, and the retention of any not disposed to enlist; but the civil being subordinate to military power, no further action could be taken.

The cases of discipline for idleness have been very few, and cannot have exceeded, if they have equalled, forty on the islands. These have been reported to the military authorities and been acted upon by them. The most trouble has been upon plantations lying exposed to the camps and vessels both of the navy and suttlers, as on Hilton Head Island and on St. Helena near Bay Point, where there was considerable discontent and insubordination induced by the visits from the vessels and camps. This trouble, it is hoped, will hereafter be removed by a more effective police system than has yet been applied.

It is not pretended that many of these laborers could not have done more than they have done, or that in persistent application they are the equals of races living in colder and more bracing latitudes. They generally went to their work quite early in the morning, and returned at noon, often earlier, working, however, industriously while they were in the field. Late in the afternoon, they worked upon their private patches. They protested against working on Saturdays. A contrary rule was, however, prescribed and enforced, and they did double work on Saturday in order to secure for themselves the day following. As they were making themselves self-supporting by the amount of work which could be obtained from them without discipline, it was thought advisable, under the present condition of things, not to exact more, but to await the full effect of moral and material inspirations, which can in time be applied.

What has, nevertheless, been accomplished with these obstructions, with all the uncertainties incident to a state of war, and with our own want of personal familiarity at first with the individual laborers themselves, gives the best reason to believe that under the guidance and with the help of the fugitive masters, had they been so disposed, these people might have made their way from bondage and its enforced labor to freedom and its voluntary and compensated labor, without any essential diminution of products or any appreciable derangement of social order. In this, as in all things, the universe is so ordered that the most beneficent revolutions, which cost life and treasure, may be accomplished justly and in peace, if men have only the heart to accept them.

The contributions of clothing from the benevolent associations have been liberal; but liberal as they have been they have failed to meet the distressing want which pervaded the territory. The masters had left the negroes destitute, not having supplied their winter clothing when our forces had arrived, so that both the winter and spring clothing had not been furnished. From all accounts it would also seem that since the war began the usual amount of clothing given had been much diminished. That contributed by the associations cannot fall below $10,000. It has produced a most marked change in the general appearance, particularly on Sundays and at the schools, and tended to inspire confidence in the superintendents. It would have been almost useless to attempt labors for moral or religious instruction without the supplies thus sent to clothe the naked. A small amount, where there was an ability and desire to pay, has, with the special authority of the societies, been sold, and the proceeds returned to them to be reinvested for the same purposes. The rest has been delivered without any money being received. In the case of the sick and disabled it is donated, and in case of those healthy and able to work it has been charged without expectations of money to be paid, that being thought to be the best course to prevent the laborers from regarding themselves as paupers, and as a possible aid to the government in case prompt payments for labor should not be made.

It is most pleasing to state that, with the small payments for labor already made, those also for the collection of cotton being nearly completed, with the partial rations on some islands and the supplies from benevolent sources on others, with the assistance which the mules have furnished for the cultivation of the crop—the general kindness and protecting care of the superintendents—the contributions of clothing forwarded by the associations—the schools for the instruction of the children and others desirous to learn—with these and other favorable influences, confidence in the government has been inspired, the laborers are working cheerfully, and they now present to the world the example of a well-behaved and self-supporting peasantry, of which their country has no reason to be ashamed.

The educational labors deserve a special statement. It is to be regretted that more teachers had not been provided. The labor of superintendence at the beginning proved so onerous, that several originally intended to be put in charge of schools were necessarily assigned for the other purpose. Some 15 persons on an average have been specially occupied with teaching, and of these four were women. Others having less superintendence to attend to were able to devote considerable time to teaching at regular hours. Nearly all gave some attention to it, more or less, according to their opportunity, and their aptitude for the work.

The educational statistics are incomplete, only a part of the schools having been open for two months, and the others having been open at intervals upon the arrival of persons designated for the purpose. At present, according to the reports, 2,500 persons are being taught on week days, of whom not far from one third are adults taught when their work is done. But this does not complete the number occasionally taught on week days and at the Sunday schools. Humane soldiers have also aided in the case of their servants and others. Three thousand persons are in all probability receiving more or less instruction in reading on these islands. With an adequate force of teachers this number might be doubled, as it is to be hoped it will be in the coming of autumn. The reports state that very many are now advanced enough, so that even if the work should stop here they would still learn to read by themselves. Thus the ability to read the English language has been already so communicated to these people that no matter what military or social vicissitudes may come, this knowledge can never perish from among them.

There have been forwarded to the Special Agent the reports of the teachers, and they result in a remarkable concurrence of testimony. All unite to attest the universal eagerness to learn, which they have not found equalled in white persons, arising both from the desire for knowledge common to all, and the desire to raise their condition, now very strong among these people. The reports on this point are cheering, even enthusiastic, and sometimes relate an incident of inspiration and affection united in beautiful combinations. One teacher on his first day's school, leaves in the rooms a large alphabet card, and the next day returns to find a mother there teaching her little child of three years to pronounce the first letters of the alphabet she herself learned the day before. The children learn without urging by their parents and as rapidly as white persons of the same age, often more so, the progress being quickened by the eager desire. One teacher reports that on the first day of her school only three or four knew a part of their letters, and none knew all. In one week seven boys and six girls could read readily words of one syllable, and the following week there were twenty in the same class. The cases of dullness have not exceeded those among whites. The mulattoes, of whom there are probably not more than five per cent. of the entire population on the plantations, are no brighter than the children of pure African blood. In the schools which have been opened for some weeks, the pupils who have regularly attended have passed from the alphabet and are reading words of one syllable in large and small letters. The lessons have been confined to reading and spelling, except in a few cases where writing has been taught.

There has been great apparent eagerness to learn among the adults, and some have progressed well. They will cover their books with care, each one being anxious to be thus provided, carry them to the fields studying them at intervals of rest, and asking explanations of the superintendents who happened to come along. But as the novelty wore away, many of the adults, finding perseverance disagreeable, have dropped off. Except in rare cases it is doubtful whether adults over thirty years, although appreciating the privilege for their children, will persevere in continuous study so as to acquire the knowledge for themselves. Still, when books and newspapers are read in negro houses, many, inspired by the example of their children, will be likely to undertake the labor again.

It is proper to state that while the memory in colored children is found to be, if anything, livelier than in the white, it is quite probable that further along, when the higher faculties of comparison and combination are more to be relied on, their progress may be less. While their quickness is apparent, one is struck with their want of discipline. The children have been regarded as belonging to the plantation rather than to a family, and the parents, who in their condition can never have but a feeble hold on their offspring, have not been instructed in training their children into thoughtful and orderly habits. It has, therefore, been found not an easy task to make them quiet and attentive at the schools.

Through the schools, habits of neatness have been encouraged. Children with soiled faces or soiled clothing, when known to have better, have been sent home from the schools, and have returned in better condition.

In a few cases the teachers have been assisted by negroes who knew how to read before we came. Of these there are very few. Perhaps one may be found on an average on one of two or three plantations. These, so far as can be ascertained, were in most cases taught clandestinely, often by the daughters of their masters who were of about the same age. A colored person among these people who has learned to read does not usually succeed so well as a white teacher. He is apt to teach the alphabet in the usual order and needs special training for the purpose.

The Sabbath-schools have assisted in the work of teaching. Some 300 persons are present at the church at St. Helena in the morning to be taught. There are other churches where one or two hundred attend. A part of these, perhaps the larger, attend some of the day schools, but they comprehend others, as adults, and still others coming from localities where schools have not been opened. One who regards spectacles in the light of their moral aspects, can with difficulty find sublimer scenes than those witnessed on Sabbath morning on these islands, now ransomed to a nobler civilization.

The educational labors have had incidental results almost as useful as those which have been direct. At a time when the people were chafing the most under deprivations, and the assurances made on behalf of the government were most distrusted, it was fortunate that we could point to the teaching of their children as a proof of our interest in their welfare, and of the new and better life which we were opening before them.

An effort has been made to promote clean and healthful habits. To that end, weekly cleanings of quarters were enjoined. This effort, where it could be properly made, met with reasonable success. The negroes, finding that we took an interest in their welfare, acceded cordially, and in many cases their diligence in this respect was most commendable. As a race, it is a mistake to suppose that they are indisposed to cleanliness. They appear to practice it as much as white people under the same circumstances. There are difficulties to obstruct improvement in this respect. There has been a scarcity of lime and (except at too high prices) of soap. Their houses are too small, not affording proper apartments for storing their food. They are unprovided with glass windows. Besides, some of them are tenements unfit for beasts, without floor or chimneys. One could not put on a face to ask the occupants to clean such a place. But where the building was decent or reasonably commodious, there has been no difficulty in securing the practice of this virtue. Many of these people are examples of tidiness, and on entering their houses one is sometimes witness of rather amusing scenes where a mother is trying the effect of beneficent ablutions on the heads of her children.

The religious welfare of these people has not been neglected. The churches, which were closed when this became a seat of war, have been opened. Among the superintendents there were several persons of clerical education, who have led in public ministrations. The larger part of them are persons of religious experience and profession, who, on the Sabbath, in weekly praise meetings and at funerals, have labored for the consolation of these humble believers.

These people have been assured by the Special Agent, that if they proved, themselves worthy by their industry, good order, and sobriety, they should be protected against their rebel masters. It would be wasted toil to attempt their development without such assurances. An honorable nature would shrink from this work without the right to make them. Nor is it possible to imagine any rulers now or in the future, who will ever turn their backs on the laborers who have been received, as these have been, into the service of the United States.

Special care has been taken to protect the property of the government on the plantations. The cattle had been taken in such large numbers by the former owners, and later by the army, the latter sometimes slaughtering fifty or more head on a plantation, that the necessity of a strict rule for the preservation of those remaining was felt. For that purpose the Special Agent procured orders from the military and naval authorities, dated respectively April 17 and 26, forbidding the removal of "subsistence, forage, mules, horses, oxen, cows, sheep, cattle of any kind, or other property, from the plantations, without the consent of the Special Agent of the Treasury Department or orders from the nearest General Commanding." No such consent has been given by the Special Agent except in one case, as an act of mercy to the animal, and in another where he ordered a lamb killed on a special occasion, and has charged himself with the same in his account with the Department. Your instructions, which expressed your desire to prevent the deterioration of the estates, have in this respect been sedulously attended to. The superintendents have not been permitted to kill cattle, even for fresh meat, and they have subsisted on their rations, and fish and poultry purchased of the negroes.

The success of the movement, now upon its third month, has exceeded my most sanguine expectations. It has had its peculiar difficulties, and some phases at times, arising from accidental causes, might on a partial view invite doubt, vanished however at once by a general survey of what had been done. Already the high treason of South Carolina has had a sublime compensation, and the end is not yet. The churches which were closed have been opened. No master now stands between the people and the words which the Saviour spoke for the consolation of all peoples and all generations. The gospel is preached in fullness and purity, as it has never before been preached in this territory, even in colonial times. The reading of the English language, with more or less system, is being taught to thousands, so that whatever military or political calamities may be in store, this precious knowledge can never more be eradicated. Ideas and habits have been planted, under the growth of which these people are to be fitted for the responsibilities of citizenship, and in equal degree unfitted for any restoration to what they have been. Modes of administration have been commenced, not indeed adapted to an advanced community, but just, paternal, and developing in their character. Industrial results have been reached which put at rest the often reiterated assumption that this territory and its products can only be cultivated by slaves—a social problem which has vexed the wisest approaches a solution. The capacity of a race, and the possibility of lifting it to civilization without danger or disorder, even without throwing away the present generation as refuse, is being determined. And thus the way is preparing by which the peace to follow this war shall be made perpetual.

Finally, it would seem that upon this narrow theatre, and in these troublous times, God is demonstrating against those who would mystify His plans and thwart His purposes, that in the councils of His infinite wisdom He has predestined no race, not even the Africans, to the doom of eternal bondage.

There are words of personal gratitude which it is not easy to suppress. To the superintendents, who have treated me with uniform kindness and subordination; to the Rev. Dr. Peck, to whom was assigned the charge of the general interests of Port Royal Island; and to the Rev. Mr. French, who was charged with special duties; to the Benevolent Associations in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, without whose support and contributions, amounting, in salaries and donations of specific articles, to not less than $20,000, this enterprise could not have been carried on or commenced; to the Flag-Officer of the squadron and the Generals commanding, for facilities cheerfully afforded, particularly to Brig.-Gen. Stevens, to whom, as Port Royal, Ladies', and St. Helena Islands, were all within his district, it was necessary often to apply; to the Collector of New York, with whom the business operations have been conducted; to yourself, for confidence intrusted and continued, I am under special obligations. But, more than all, in parting with the interesting people who have been under my charge, I must bear testimony to their uniform kindness to myself. One of them has been my faithful guide and attendant, doing for me more service than any white man could render. They have come, even after words of reproof or authority, to express confidence and good resolves. They have given me their benedictions and prayers, and I should be ungrateful indeed ever to forget or deny them.

I am your friend and servant,

EDWARD L. PIERCE,

Special Agent of Treasury Department.

OUT OF JAIL.

THE BLACK MAN WHO WAS IMPRISONED FOR READING UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.

I AM asked to make an appeal for a poor man—a criminal, just out of jail. He was convicted for three offences: first, because a black skin covered his face; second, because the English alphabet came and sat upon his tongue; and third, because he had read the story of Uncle Tom's Cabin.

For these crimes he was tried and convicted by a Maryland Court in 1857, and sentenced to the Baltimore Penitentiary for ten years. After wearing out five years of this long penalty, the gate of his cell was opened a few weeks ago by the new Governor of Maryland, who told him that he might quit the Jail if he would quit also the United States. He immediately promised to go to Canada, and is now in New York on his way thither.

The culprit's name is Samuel Green. He is 62 years of age, though, except for his gray hairs, he seems younger; good-looking, intelligent, and amiable; showing in his face God's plain handwriting of a good character; a man whom a stranger would trust at first sight.

He was born a slave in Maryland, and wore the chain for 30 years, until his master died, bequeathing him freedom at the end of five years. The slave, kindled with this hope of becoming a man, worked extra hours and earned in one year enough money to buy his service for the remaining four. While a slave, he had married a slave woman, the property of a kind master who, after her husband had so handsomely worked out his freedom, sold him his wife for 25 cents! Mr. Green says, "My wife was worth more, but I was willing to take her for that!"

They had two children—son and daughter—both slaves of one master

boy in Canada, saying, "Come and bring mother, and let us all live together here." It was a good idea, but the old man, before venturing to take all his little property to a foreign country, made a hurried trip to Canada, to see what was the prospect of earning a livelihood in the high latitudes. Meanwhile, the story of his absence made noise enough to reach the attentive ears of the civil officers. On his return, a constable knocked at his door, and said, "You are suspected of holding correspondence with the North, and I shall search your house."

"Come in, sir," said Mr. Green; "it is a small cottage; you can soon search it through; but you will find nothing, for there is nothing to find."

But Samuel Green—unsuspecting man!—found to his cost that he was a great rogue, and that the proof of it was in his own house. The constable found three guilty things: first, Uncle Tom's Cabin; second, a map of Canada; third, a picture of a hotel at Niagara Falls. These were all, but were they not enough? What constable in Maryland would have asked for more? What Court in the State would have given less than ten years in the State prison after such proofs? Besides, even out of Maryland, does not Gov. Stanly, and the editor of *The Herald*, and other good men, call it a crime for a black man to know how to read?

But without palliating Samuel Green's crime, if any kind-hearted person can be persuaded to show kindness to the criminal by giving a little money to help the old man off to the penal colony of Canada, it will reach him if sent to

THEODORE TILTON,
Office of *The Independent*, No 5 Beekman street, N. Y.

MASSACRE OF NEGROES IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

Special Dispatch to The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Monday, June 23, 1862.

THE following is the text of the dispatch concerning the recent massacre of negroes on Hutchinson Island by the rebels:

U. S. SHIP DALE, ST. HELENA SOUND,
South Carolina, June 13, 1862.

SIR: This morning, at 4 o'clock, it was reported to me that there was a large fire on Hutchinson Island. Shortly after a preconcerted signal that the enemy were in the vicinity had been made from the house of our pilot, I immediately started in the gig, accompanied by the tender Wild Cat, Boatswain Downs, Senr. Acting Midshipman Terry; first cutter, Acting-Master Billings; second cutter, Acting Master Hawkins; and cutter, Coxwain Shatluff—up Horn or Big River Creek, in the direction of the fire.

Soon after leaving the ship, a canoe containing three negroes was met, who stated that the rebels, 300 strong, were at Mrs. Mardis's plantation, killing all the negroes. As we advanced up the creek, we were constantly met by canoes with two or three negroes in them, panic-stricken, and making their way to the ship, while white flags were to be seen flying from every inhabited point, around which were clustered groups of frightened fugitives.

When about two and a half miles from Mrs. Mardis's, I was obliged to anchor the Wild Cat, from the want of sufficient water in the channel, with orders to cover our retreat, if necessary. On arriving at Mrs. Mardis's, the scene was most painful. Her dwelling and a chapel in ruins, and the air heavy with smoke, while at the landing were assembled 100 souls, mostly women and children, in the utmost distress.

Throwing out a picket guard, and taking every proper measure against a surprise, I satisfied myself that the enemy were not in our immediate neighborhood, the negroes assuring me that they had left the Island and returned to Fort Chapman. I then gathered the following particulars: The rebels, during the night, landed on the Island from Fort Chapman, with a force of unknown numbers, and guided by a negro, who for a long time had been on the Island in the employ of the army, surrounded the house and chapel, in which a large proportion of the negroes were housed, posting a strong guard to oppose our landing.

At early dawn they fired a volley through the house, and as the alarmed people sprang nearly naked from their beds and rushed forth frantic with fear, they were shot, arrested, or knocked down. The first inquiry of the rebels was for the d—d Yankees, and at what time they were in the habit of visiting the islands, mingled with exclamations of "Be quick, boys—the people from the ship will be up!" "Let's burn the houses!" "Not yet; they will see the fire from the ship, and come up!"

Having collected most of the chickens and despoiled many of the poor people of their very wretched clothing, and told them that as they belonged to the State, or others nearly adjoining, they would not molest them, they fired the building and fled.

As the people were clamorous to be removed, I filled the boats with them and pulled down to the tender, on board of which they were placed.

On our return for the remainder they were observed, as we approached the landing, to be in the utmost confusion, dashing wildly into the marshes, and screaming, "The secesh are coming back." On investigation, however, it proved that the enemy in full sight, about two miles off, crossing an open space of ground, were in hasty retreat instead of advancing. On our first visit they must have been concealed in a patch of woods not more than half a mile from our pickets.

Having succeeded in removing or in providing with boats all who wished to remain to collect their little property, I returned to the ship, bringing with me about seventy, among them one man literally riddled with balls and buckshot (since dead); another shot through the lungs, and struck over the forehead with a clubbed musket, which laid the bone perfectly bare; one woman shot in the leg, shoulder, and thigh; one far gone in pregnancy, suffering from a dislocation of the hip-joint and injury to the womb, caused by leaping from a second-story window; and another suffering from the displacement of the cap of the knee and injury of the leg from the same cause.

It appears that the negro who had guided the party had returned to them after the evacuation of the place, told them all the troops had been withdrawn, and that the islands were entirely unprotected except by this ship. I am therefore at a loss to account for their extreme barbarity to negroes, most of whom were living on the plantation where they had been born, peacefully tilling the ground for their support which their masters, by deserting, had denied them, and who were not even remotely connected with the hated government army.

I trust you will approve my sending the contrabands to Hilton Head. Had I not been unable to provide for such a large number, and so much embarrassed by the frequent demands made upon me for provisions by new arrivals, I should have waited for your advice in the matter.

Last Tuesday we had an arrival of 30 from the main land, and scarcely a day passed without one or more of them, always in a half-starved condition, whose appeals for food I have not yet been able to resist, though they trespass rather largely on the ship's stores.

All those newly arrived give the same account of the want and scarcity of provisions among the white population, and of their own dangers and sufferings, in effecting their escape. Though exercising no control over the negroes on the neighboring islands, I have, ever since the withdrawal of the troops, urged them to remove to Edisto or St. Helena, and warned them that some night they would be visited by the rebels.

But the majority insisted on remaining because there was their home, while all seemed to have most perfect faith in the protection of the ship, though perhaps, as was the case last night, ten or twelve miles distant from her. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. T. TRUXTON, Lieut. Commanding.

Flag-Officer S. F. DUPONT, Command'g Southern Atlantic Blockading Squadron, Port Royal, S. C.

"ABOLITIONISTS AND SECESSIONISTS."

From The Springfield Republican.

THERE is a sort of one-horse loyalty which attempts to sweeten the bitter task of condemning treason, by classifying secessionists with Abolitionists, as equally enemies of the government. There is a class of politicians who have been engaged for years in abusing Abolitionists, as the enemies of the Union. All at once, they find their old associates turned traitors, and learn that they have been made the tools of the only men in the country who had any designs against the government. What to do? How to get out of their most uncomfortable and mortifying predicament? They cannot give up their pet notion, that the Abolitionists are very black traitors, for they learned that of the Southern traitors, who were the only truly "national men," only a year or two ago. It is not safe for them, any longer, to uphold the Southern traitors. It might put them behind grated windows, or bring them to a consciousness of living in a very dangerous neighborhood. So they insist that if they are obliged to abuse their good friends, the rebels, the Abolitionists shall be yoked with them, and go to infamy in their company.

There are others, however, who take up the cry less intelligently and less malignantly. They are men who are very honestly and very reasonably afraid of extremists of every class. A secessionist is an extremist. An Abolitionist is an extremist. They therefore see no special injustice in bringing both into the same classification, and join in the cry of the sympathisers with treason against secessionists and Abolitionists together. Are they either wise or fair? We think not.

What is a secessionist? He is a man who believes that the United States government has no rights which a single State is bound to respect—one who believes that State rights override United States rights—who believes that at any moment when she chooses, any State can secede from, and break up the United States government. He not only believes it, but he practices according to his belief. He is, moreover, an advocate of human slavery, and a holder of slaves, and he secedes from the Union for the simple purpose of benefitting his pet institution. He is a man who not only hates the Union, but he hates all who love it, and not only hates them, but approves of, or engages in, schemes for robbing and murdering them. The genuine secessionist is an enemy to his country, an oppressor of the poor and the helpless, and a foe to everything which we hold most sacred in our free American civilization. He it is who has taken the responsibility of this war. He knew his interests were in no danger. He knew the government never had oppressed him. He knew that the present Administration had no intention to injure him or his favorite institution. He struck wantonly for power, and the murder of a hundred thousand men, the bereavement of a million others, the impoverishment of half a nation, and the utter ruin of the other half, lie at his door.

Now, what is an Abolitionist? Literally and briefly, he is a man who advocates, and labors for, the Abolition of human slavery in this country. In one sense, every decent man is an Abolitionist, provided he has been bred in a region where his judgment and conscience have not been corrupted by direct interest in, or association with the institution of slavery. All humane persons—all who believe in the Declaration of Independence—all who believe in a pure Christianity—are, in their hearts, Abolitionists. That is, they wish there were some safe and proper way for freedom to come to every human being. We all go as far as this, but those who are technically known as Abolitionists go further. They believe it to be their duty to agitate for the immediate abolition of slavery. They have, in limited numbers, cursed the Constitution. Some of them have been willing to see the country divided rather than see the free States saddled with any responsibility for slavery. But these men have been few and powerless. Their zeal has outrun their discretion, and their indiscretion has destroyed their influence; but their original impulses were good, and they have only loved the nigger "not wisely but too well." But where are the Abolitionists to-day? Almost all of them are supporting the government, while secession, born of slavery, is demonstrating the devilish spirit of that institution to be precisely what they have always represented it to be.

The Abolitionists will bear us witness that we have been far enough from sympathizing in their peculiar schemes, or their mode of speech and operation; but we beg leave to say that we can hear no coupling of the names of secessionists and Abolitionists, as men who are equally guilty in the eye of national justice, and equally responsible for the evils of the present war, without anger. Such an association of names, which are intended to be disgraceful epithets, is a mean and cowardly act, no matter who performs it. The attempt to shift the responsibility of this war, with all its burden of blood and crime and misery upon Abolitionists, is an outrage upon the plainest historical truth, established by the voluntary boasts and confessions of the secessionists themselves. The army which is engaged in fighting the battles of the country, and pouring out its blood like water, is more than half abolitionized to-day, by what it has learned of slavery during the war. Are these brave and self-sacrificing soldiers to be classed with secessionists? President Lincoln and his entire Cabinet would rejoice in the emancipation of the slaves, and propose it. Are they to be classed with secessionists? Out upon such nonsense! The only real enemies of the government are secessionists, and there are none, North or South, who deserve classification with them, except those who try to lift the responsibility of the war from their shoulders, or those who, finding it unsafe to be indecent, take their revenge by abusing decent people.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 24, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

THE FUTURE OF THE BLACK SOUTH.

THAT the civil conflict in which the nation is now engaged is in fact a revolution is becoming more and more patent to every sight. A revolution, that is, of the institutions and state of society in the Southern States. And, indeed, a revolution in the affairs of the North as well, though of a less radical character, from the deliverance it will work for the whole nation from the tricky supremacy of the Slavocrats and the establishment of a really popular government. But it is of the change which impends over the condition of the South that we would speak now. We lately spoke of the effects of the war upon the ruling classes there, and we would now look for a moment at what it will do for the negroes. We assume that the issue of this war, near or remote, must be the emancipation of the slaves. An institution so at war with the spirit of the nineteenth century could not exist long at any rate, and such a war as this cannot but be fatal to it. If not directly abolished by the act of Mr. Lincoln or of Mr. Davis, through the necessities of the war, it could not long survive the wounds which the war itself must have dealt it. The impulse which the interruption of its chief crops will give to their production in other parts of the world, is alone enough to decide its doom. If it be true, as seems to be established by the testimony of independent witnesses, that the whole breadth of the Southern land is sowed with provisions, and only cotton enough for seed, this will be the seal of the death warrant of slavery. King Cotton will be dethroned, or, at least, he will have transferred the seat of his empire to other lands. Poverty, if not battle, will demand the extinction of a system which can only exist by protection and monopoly. A winter like the one which is to come, chilling the hearts of the manufacturers and operatives of Europe with straightened incomes and the dearth of bread, will settle the question of independence of our slaveholders as to the supply of the fibre, which is at once the food of machinery and of men. The sceptre will have departed from the arrogant tyrant of the cotton-bale and the laws of political economy will prevail where that of humanity and philosophy had striven in vain for the mastery.

Now, what is to become of the negroes? This is usually considered as a question conclusive of the whole matter at issue. It being taken for granted that there is nothing to become of them except to be slaves till the end of time. Whereas, the true question should be, What can the whites do without them? Do without them, that is, without the great impoverishment of the nation. We are well aware that the staples of the South can be raised by white labor—even sugar and rice. But the work of the regions nearest the tropics, and especially those portions of them lying on alluvial rivers, can be much better done by black labor than by white. Should the blacks be entirely removed from the soil, or a great proportion of them, there can be no doubt that our tropical productions would be very greatly reduced. Four million of laborers cannot be replaced in a day, and if they could, it would take many days and many years to acclimate and educate a proportionable number of white immigrants. And should this new supply of labor be taken from the productive force of the North, of course it must diminish to that extent the whole production of the nation. We do not believe that the Universal Yankee Nation will ever suffer itself to be deprived of four million of producers. It will insist on their being placed under conditions which will greatly increase their productiveness. It never will permit them to be expatriated to enrich other nations or to form a nation by themselves. What this mighty continent of ours needs is laborers to develop its vast resources. The growth of the United States is due to the policy which has made our soil the paradise of labor, which the toilers of all the world were invited to enter in and possess it. The system of slavery has had the effect of checking the development of the Southern country to a most terrible extent. It will take years to remedy the mischiefs which slavery has wrought during the two centuries of its reign, even if the wisest course be pursued without interruption. We mean it will take years to bring up the production of the South to the point it would have reached had it always been under the beneficent influences of free labor. It will at once, under the most unfavorable circumstances of the new experiment, be rewarded with larger crops than slavery ever reaped. The experience of the British West Indies proves this fact beyond all contradiction of any who will consent to know the facts.

Now, we do not take the old ground of the Abolitionists against the Colonization Society, that it is a physical impossibility to remove the blacks from the continent. This was conclusive in the old times, when Liberia was the only shelter offered to the banished negro, and that lying device of the enemy was first invented for the comfort and security of slavery. The conditions of tropical labor have materially changed since then. The African slave trade has ceased with all the European dependencies on our seas and on our shores, and slavery in its full force exists only in Cuba and Brazil, if it can be said so to exist in this latter empire. The impulse given to production by free labor has been felt in the English, French, Dutch and Danish possessions, in a measure which has outrun the most sanguine anticipations. The cry is everywhere for more hands, and India and China have been solicited for the aid necessary to urge the willing vegetation of the tropics to shape itself into gold. The abortive attempt of the French Emperor to revive the African slave trade under a fairer name is in the recollection of all our readers. Vile as it was, it was a testimony to the need of labor in those regions, and to the rewards which it would be sure to meet with. Already the King of Denmark has offered to take as many of our war-enfranchised freedmen as offer themselves, at his own expense, and guarantee to them freedom in his American possessions, after a term of labor sufficient to repay the expenses of their transportation. All the other nations, having such dependencies, will be swift to follow his lead, as soon as they know that there is a likelihood of such an impolicy being actually adopted by us. England alone could transport the whole black population of America in a few years to her islands, and especially, to the immense regions of British Guiana, and thank us for the gross folly which should transfer our wealth-producers from our soil to hers. New Great Easterns would bridge the intervening seas over which our riches should fly to her dominions. Agricultural labor is exactly what she needs in her colonies, and that is exactly what politicians pretend to wish to strip our lands of. We do not believe that they are in earnest.

We do not believe that the men who are really interested in slave labor, and who profess to be willing that slavery should cease provided the black race could be eliminated, have any such wish or design. They put it forward, as Sheridan used to move Universal Suffrage in Parliament, *because* it is impossible. They know that such a proposition is equivalent to the perpetuation of slavery. We cannot tell how it is that a man of the acuteness and intelligence of President Lincoln can adopt and urge a plan compared with which the expatriation of the Huguenots by Louis XIV., and of the Moors by Phillip III, was good political economy, for the first only robbed France of a quarter of a million of her best subjects, and the last stripped Spain of but a million producers of her wealth. It may be the force of inveterate prejudice not yet expended, or counteracted by his natural humanity and good sense, or it may be a politic yielding to the general sentiment of the pro-slavery public men now about him, which he knows the logic of events will contradict. But that he will ever actually agree to the depopulation of the South by the exile of a third of its inhabitants, and they the most useful and productive, is an absurdity too great ever to become a fact. Slavery must and will be abolished and that speedily, as history counts speed. Destroy its political predominance and its monopoly of cotton, and the cottonocrats themselves will appeal to the nation for deliverance from the burden. This war we believe is sure to produce these two results—perhaps not instantly, but surely. And when the request is made in earnest, it will be coupled with no condition of the banishment of the laborers on whom the regeneration of the country depends. That emancipation will be accorded in the wisest and most humane manner, is not to be hoped for. It will take years to civilize the whites of the South enough to teach them that honesty and humanity are the best policy in their treatment of their laborers. But the recognition of the civil rights of the negroes and the power of choosing whom they will work for, together with the great immigration sure to follow immediately upon emancipation, will soon work a change for the better. All the reparation that is due to that long-injured race, even the full justice which good policy would demand, can scarcely be expected at first. A generation perhaps must pass away and all the oppressors now on the soil be laid under it, before the fullness of rights can be had. But the foundation will be laid, the beginning made, and it will greatly depend on the blacks themselves how soon they take their just place in the scale of society. But the worst of the transition will be a blessed exchange for the best of the old condition.

RESULTS OF EDUCATION UNDER SLAVERY.

WHAT is to be said of the specimens of hideous depravity which are now constantly manifesting themselves among the rebels whenever they come in contact with supporters of the United States government? When we find, in abundance, in all those parts of the Southern country where loyalists meet partisans of the rebellion, the most frightful complications of treachery, cruelty, and baseness of every sort, committed by the latter against the former, what are we to say and to think? Are all these results without a cause, or do they proceed from some obvious and prolific source, some root which must continue to bear them until it is itself extirpated?

Abundance of well authenticated instances are related, in letters and newspapers, such as the following: the firing, from rebel houses, on ambulances filled with our wounded soldiers; (one instance has come to our knowledge in which this enormity was committed from the house, and by the son, of a Northern gentleman and lady, who shared the very best advantages of moral and intellectual culture before they went to live in Virginia, and placed themselves under its influences):—the killing of our officers and men with the very weapons they had just surrendered, after defeat:—the murder of wounded men, left on the field of battle, and of the surgeon who had taken the risk of ministering to their necessities:—the stabbing of a loyalist surgeon by the rebel captive whose wounds he was dressing:—the numerous instances in which small parties of our men have been destroyed on approaching a signal of distress, or a flag of truce:—and the urgent appeals of the Southern press for the assassination of Gen. Butler, in revenge for the fulfilment of his official duties!

Many persons feel and express the utmost amazement at things like these. But in the perpetration of such atrocities no new thing has happened. The same things have been done by the defenders of slavery for thirty years past, whenever, and to whatever extent, the supposed necessities of the institution required such help. When Mr. Garrison *began* his work of calling attention to the guilt and danger involved in slavery, the Governor of Georgia openly offered five thousand dollars for his head. When Massachusetts *began* so small an instalment of self-defence as the sending of commissioners to institute legal proceedings for the maintenance of the rights of her citizens, she was promptly kicked out (by deputy) from the territory of her *sister* States, and was notified, by gubernatorial and legislative action, that any future attempt of the sort would be yet more ignominiously repelled. When Mr. Helper *began* his appeal to his own fellow-citizens, to that majority of the people of his native State whose interests and necessities were fully identified with his own, pointing out to them how they might destroy the greatest of evils, and attain the greatest of benefits, he was at once made an exile, and loaded with every species of calumny. And, in the course of thirty years past whenever any one living in the region cursed by slavery has attempted any speech or action in opposition to it, or been even suspected of the wish so to act or speak, every sort of fraud or violence, necessary to expel or destroy such person, has been promptly and unscrupulously used against him or her. These are the natural and necessary fruits of slavery. The tree *must* bring forth fruit after its kind.

Whenever the cases of the burning alive of slaves (and, more rarely, of suspected Abolitionists) shall be collected from Southern papers for separate publication—as they should long since have been—it will be found frequently specified that this act was not committed by unknown and irresponsible persons, but by the most respectable citizens, including magistrates and clergymen, of the vicinity in question. Throughout the slaveholding region, the people of any locality, urban or rural, are unanimously agreed in the perpetration of any atrocity which is thought needful for the interests of slavery. All these things have been known for many years to those who have been willing to read or hear on the subject. The peculiarity of our times is that many unwilling ones now have these matters forced upon their attention, and are compelled to see what worse than Algerine and Egyptian barbarisms are perpetuated by this system in a nation calling itself Republican and Christian.

To come down to a minor specimen of the depravation of character produced by slavery—when we hear from *The Evening Post* that at least one-fourth of the money appropriated under the Emancipation bill in the District of Columbia will go into the hands of rebels, but that, as they readily take the oath, there is no help for it—should the utmost facility at perjury on the part of those slaveholders surprise us? They have always unhesitatingly told whatever lies were necessary to preserve or defend their system. Dreading most of all things the diffusion of truth and the execution of justice, is it strange that they should try to shield themselves by falsehood? Was it not long ago known that they who steal will lie?

Slavery is the fertile root, the active perpetrator, of all these abominations. How long wait we without seeing that it must be uprooted, annihilated, before a healthy State of manners and morals can begin to take its place? How long wait we to realize that unless this inquiry is speedily overthrown, we are ruined? That God's providence will, sometime, overthrow it, there is no doubt whatever. The only question is whether we will make ourselves fellow-workers with God in season to join *our* salvation with that of the Africo-American race.

Unless we cease from the oppressions which we have hitherto carried on in partnership with the Southern slaveholders, the ruin that has overtaken them must engulf us also. Every moment of our delay to do justice to the colored people, North and South, is the union of a henious sin with an enormous blunder. By making friends with this people, slave and free, by throwing aside our foolish prejudices, and asking for the cooperation which they would gladly give in the work of subjugating our rebels and reëstablishing the national authority, the complete accomplishment of those things would become only a question of time. We should necessarily go on, conquering and to conquer, and keeping all that we gained. The question of slavery would be at once permanently settled, and the question of labor would be put on the best footing for successful and mutually satisfactory solution. If the Northern government would at once assume a position offering justice and friendship to the colored people throughout the country, the last hope of the rebellion would be gone, and the beginning of its end would have come. The very first result of such a step would be the scattering of that army which, behind the walls of Richmond, is now preparing for a desperate and sanguinary contest with our forces. Looking either at the ultimate prosperity of this great nation, or only at the war, and apart from all consideration of the state of things which is to follow, this measure, the offer of justice and friendship to the negro, is the one thing needful.

But to this the majority in the North, as well as in the South, are bitterly opposed. Slavery has so contaminated us, even in our partial or subsidiary relation to it, that even while our people are getting their eyes open to the iniquities of the mother, they retain and cherish the daughter. The vulgar prejudice of caste, among us, is the direct result of slavery. But for slavery, the black man would be treated as a man, and estimated according to his individual merit, here, as well as in England and France. Having conspired against that whole race, for the sake of partnership with their oppressors, we have so blinded our own minds, and hardened our own hearts, as not to see the obvious truth that they are our natural allies in this war, and that only through the establishment of such alliance can we obtain either present success or ultimate prosperity.

Will the people awake in time to compel their official servants to take this indispensable ground? Who can tell? It is certain that victories alone will not save us. What proportion of the places already conquered show a desire to return to the Union? And what slightest vestige of Unionism would remain in New Orleans, or Norfolk, or Baltimore, after the removal of the Federal armies?

If we are to retain the Southern States, or any of them, there must be a nucleus, in each, of genuine, hearty, thorough adherents of the Union. If the government should guarantee justice and equal rights under the law to the colored people, that whole race would gravitate to the South, by natural preference, from the Northern States and Canada. If suitable bounties of rebel land are given to soldiers discharged after the war, and to such Northern men as shall then wish to try the new field for emigration, this indispensable nucleus will be obtained. And the armies of occupation, needful to commence this experiment, will every year be merged more and more in the general population, until, in no long time, slavery and rebellion shall have perished together, without hope of resurrection.

LETTER FROM AARON M. POWELL.

STEAMER ARMENIA, HUDSON RIVER, June 23, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

MUCH has been said, and truly, of the great changes wrought in public sentiment during the past year by "events." In the absence of an executive "policy" it has been said that "events" were doing the all-important work for the slave and for us. Their agency is potent both for good and ill. A perfect work they have not yet wrought, if in the nature of things it were possible, in abolitionizing the masses of the people of the North. I am just returning home by steamer from an anti-slavery meeting yesterday at Washington, in Dutchess County. Friends at Washington, unable to obtain a place for an anti-slavery meeting in either of two churches, applied for, and were granted the use of the Fair building, of the County Agricultural Society. This building had hitherto been used for an anti-slavery convention. The grounds upon which it stands, and surrounding it, the Society does not own, but leases. They are owned by a leading "Democratic" politician. He swore that no "d—d Abolitionist" should be allowed to speak in that building, for though it was owned by the Agricultural Society, the lease of his grounds covered only agricultural purposes, and no one should be allowed to pass to the building to attend an Abolition meeting. Quite a large audience assembled, but not to hold the meeting as advertised, for no entrance, except under penalty of prosecution, could be gained to the Hall.

After a period of miscellaneous and earnest discussion among the people of the right of free speech, the merits of secession sympathisers, etc., we were invited to the beautiful grounds of Mr. William Sharpsteen to hold an out-of-door meeting. The invitation was accepted, and we had a most excellent meeting, much to the discomfiture of the secession, pro-slavery politicians and church-members.

I find great shrinking from the name "Abolitionist." Democrats are bitter. Republicans, with exceptions, are cowardly and mean. Church-members are "opposed to slavery," but in a great many cases are still more opposed to immediate emancipation. A spirit of repentance for past and present complicity with slavery, a purpose or desire for genuine reformation for the sake of truth, justice and freedom is extremely rare.

A week ago I went to Tivoli, a village on the eastern shore of this beautiful river, to speak on the war and slavery. A house here also had been duly engaged by my friend, Dr. Barton, but just before the time for the meeting, the trustees gave him official notice that they should break their engagement with him, and that it had been resolved that no "d—d Abolitionist" should be allowed to speak in the place. The weather was such that I was unwilling to speak out of doors, so, except an informal gathering of a few friendly persons, our meeting was thwarted.

A few evenings since I addressed a meeting at Chatham Four Corners. Here, too, Methodist and Reformed (?) Dutch churches which had been applied for for our meeting were refused on the score of "Abolitionism." We had, however, a pretty good meeting in Coburn's Hall.

Unfriendly expressions against the colored people were never more common in my hearing. Many Republicans unite with Democrats in cursing the "niggers," and in declaring that the slaves, if possibly emancipated by the war, must be removed from the country!

The call unto repentance needs yet to be loudly sounded, and the gospel of impartial freedom to be most vigorously proclaimed.

I want to thank your Washington correspondent for his very pertinent and timely criticism upon Sumner's letter upon the President which you reprint from the Boston *Journal*, and as well for his equally pertinent and timely criticisms upon the Administration. Many good people of anti-slavery professions, not to speak of others, need the revelations and warnings which he gives. It is no time for the people to be passively, trustingly relying upon the supposed honesty and excellence of any Administration to do that which it is their duty to be fully alive to, to make possible, to order and direct by their united will.

AARON M. POWELL.

THE PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

PRESENTATION OF THEIR MEMORIAL TO THE PRESIDENT.

WASHINGTON, Friday, June 20, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

A DELEGATION from the Religious Society of Progressive Friends, consisting of THOMAS GARRETT, ALICE ELIZA HAMBLETON, OLIVER JOHNSON, DINAH MENDENHALL, WM. BARNARD and ELIZA AGNEW, appeared before the President this morning to present a Memorial, praying him to decree the emancipation of the slaves. The delegates were severally introduced to the President by the Hon. DAVID WILMOT, U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania, through whose kind interposition the arrangements for the interview had been previously made. Messrs. WILLIAM D. KELLEY, WM. MORRIS DAVIS, and JAMES H. CAMPBELL, Representatives from Pennsylvania in the House, also accompanied the delegation, feeling a hearty interest in their mission.

Mr. WILMOT having stated that the deputation had come to present a Memorial for the Emancipation of the Slaves, the President, with something more than official courtesy, expressed his readiness to receive what they had to offer for his consideration. OLIVER JOHNSON then said:

"Mr. PRESIDENT: We appear before you, by your kind permission, not to solicit office for ourselves or our friends, nor to ask for any party or personal favor, but in the interest of the country and of humanity. Our clients are 4,000,000 slaves, who cannot speak for themselves, but only lift up their chained hands in mute but agonizing supplication for the freedom which it is in your power, in this solemn crisis of the nation's fate, to confer upon them."

Mr. Johnson then read the Memorial, as follows:

To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States.

THE Religious Society of Progressive Friends, in Yearly Meeting assembled, at Longwood, Chester County, Pa., from the 5th to the 7th of Sixth month, 1862, under a solemn sense of the perils besetting the country, and of the duty devolving upon them to exert whatever influence they possess to rescue it from impending destruction, beg leave, respectfully but earnestly, to set forth for the consideration of President Lincoln—

That they fully share in the general grief and reprobation felt at the seditious course pursued in opposition to the General government by the so-called "Confederate States"; regarding it as marked by all the revolting features of high-handed robbery, cruel treachery, and murderous violence, and therefore utterly to be abhorred and condemned by every lover of his country, and every friend of the human race.

That, nevertheless, this sanguinary rebellion finds its cause, purpose and combustible materials, in that most unchristian and barbarous system of slavery which prevails in that section of the country, and in the guilt of which the whole land has long been deeply involved by general complicity; so that it is to be contritely recognized as the penalty due to such persistent and flagrant transgression, and as the inevitable operation of the law of eternal justice.

That thus heavily visited for its grinding oppression of an unfortunate race, "peeled, meted out, and trodden under foot," whose wrongs have so long cried unto Heaven for redress,—and thus solemnly warned of the infatuation as well as exceeding wickedness of endeavoring to secure peace, prosperity and unity, while leaving millions to clank their chains in the house of bondage,—the nation, in its official organization, should lose no time in proclaiming immediate and universal emancipation, so that the present frightful effusion of blood may cease, liberty be established, and a permanent reconciliation effected by the removal of the sole cause of these divisions.

That in his speech delivered at Springfield, before his election to the office of Chief Magistrate, the President expressly declared, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. *I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free.* I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. *It will become all one thing, or all the other.*"

That this Society, therefore, urgently unites with a wide-spread and constantly increasing sentiment in beseeching the President, as the head of the nation, clothed with the constitutional power in such a fearful emergency to suppress the rebellion effectually by the removal of its cause, not to allow the present golden opportunity to pass without decreeing the entire abolition of slavery throughout the land, as a measure imperatively demanded by a due regard for the unity of the country, the safety and happiness of the people, the preservation of free institutions, and by every consideration of justice, mercy and peace. Otherwise, we have fearful reason to apprehend that blood will continue to flow, and fierce dissensions to abound, and calamities to increase, and fiery judgments to be poured out, until the work of national destruction is consummated beyond hope of recovery.

The above Memorial, after thorough deliberation and discussion, was unanimously adopted by the Society; and Thomas Garrett of Wilmington, Del., Alice Eliza Hambleton of Chester Co., Pa., and Oliver Johnson of New York, were appointed Delegates to bear the same to Washington and present it to the President of the United States. It was also agreed that any other members of the Society, wishing to do so, might join these Delegates in the discharge of their duty.

Signed, by direction and on behalf of the Religious Society of Progressive Friends.

OLIVER JOHNSON,
JENNIE K. SMITH, } Clerks.

THE PRESIDENT, having listened attentively to the reading, responded substantially as follows:

As he had not been furnished with a copy of the Memorial in advance, he could not be expected to make any extended remarks. It was a relief to be assured that the deputation were not applicants for office, for his chief trouble was from that class of persons. The next most troublesome subject was slavery. He agreed with the memorialists, that slavery was wrong, but in regard to the ways and means of its removal, his views probably differed from theirs. The quotation in the Memorial from his 'Springfield speech was incomplete. It should have embraced the next sentence, in which he indicated his views as to the effect upon slavery itself of the resistance to its extension. That sentence he recited, as follows: "Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the farther spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South." The view of the subject presented in this entire passage had been very deliberately expressed, and he had never retracted it, nor felt any disposition to do so. If a decree of emancipation could abolish slavery, John Brown would have done the work most effectually. Such a decree surely could not be more binding upon the South than the Constitution, and that cannot be enforced in that part of the country now. Would a proclamation of freedom be any more effective?

The President having put this interrogatory as if he desired an answer, Mr. Johnson said:

"True, Mr. President, the Constitution cannot now be enforced at the South; but you do not on that account intermit the effort to enforce it, and the memorialists are solemnly convinced that the abolition of slavery is indispensable to your success."

The President said that he felt the magnitude of the task before him, and hoped to be rightly directed in the very trying circumstances by which he was surrounded.

WM. BARNARD addressed the President in a few words, expressing sympathy for him in all his embarrassments, and an earnest desire that he might, under Divine guidance, be led to free the slaves, and thus save the nation. He referred, by way of illustration, to the appeal of Mordecai to Queen Esther, praying for her interposition with the King for the salvation of his nation from destruction. "For if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place; but thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed: and who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this?" Esther, in response to this earnest appeal, exerted her influence successfully for the salvation of a whole people. He hoped that the President would be led by the influence of the Divine Spirit to exert the power placed in his hands for the liberation of those in bonds, and for the salvation of the country. In that case, nations yet unborn would rise up to call him blessed, and, better still, he would secure the blessing of God.

The PRESIDENT responded to the remarks of Mr. Barnard very feelingly and impressively, observing that he was deeply sensible of his need of Divine assistance. He had sometimes thought that perhaps he might be an instrument in God's hands of accomplishing a great work, and he certainly was not unwilling to be. Perhaps, however, God's way of accomplishing the end which the memorialists have in view may be different from theirs. It would be his earnest endeavor, with a firm reliance upon the Divine arm, and seeking light from above, to do his duty in the place to which he had been called.

The deputation thereupon withdrew, much gratified by the character of their reception.

The conservative friends of the President, some of whom happened to be present at the interview, thought his allusion to John Brown quite unfortunate. If he had invited reply at that point, it might well have been said: "If, Mr. President, John Brown had been Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, with the slaveholders in open revolt, he would not only have made a proclamation of freedom for the slaves, but executed it as well." Such a retort would have been most pertinent, and it is to be regretted that an opportunity for making it was not given.

What influence, if any, the presentation of the memorial may have exerted upon the mind of the President is known only to Him in whose hands are the hearts of all men, rulers and ruled. It is not, however, too much to say, that members of Congress and others here, who have the cause of freedom at heart, have been not a little gratified and encouraged by the appearance at the Capital, for such an object, of a deputation from one of the religious bodies of the land. One distinguished member of Congress said, that if all the Churches of the country, or the major portion of them, would only follow the example of the Progressive Friends, the President and Congress would speedily be constrained to strike for the overthrow of slavery as the only way of putting down the rebellion. The inaction of those who really desire emancipation, and their failure to make their voice heard in Washington, leaves those who administer the government to doubt whether they would be sustained in pursuing an anti-slavery policy. The advocates of half-way measures, on the other hand, are clamorous, making their voices to be heard, day by day, by the President and his constitutional advisers. It is believed that if the sentiment existing at the North in favor of emancipation were only organized, concentrated and brought to bear upon the government through the legitimate channels, it would sweep everything before it. But while the politicians are busy with their schemes, the mass of the honest-hearted people, at work upon their farms or in their shops, take no sufficient measures to make their influence felt by the government. Memorials for emancipation should go up to the President and Congress from every county and town in the free States, and the religious denominations of the land, if they are not literally so many synagogues of Satan, should send deputations to Washington, beseeching those in authority, if they would save the country from utter destruction, to proclaim the emancipation of those in bonds, and for the salvation of the country. The Progressive Friends have set a good example. May it be extensively followed. No COMPROMISER.

PHILADELPHIA FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

AT a meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti Slavery Society, held June 12th, the following Resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That we gladly record the triumph of Freedom, in the recent action of Congress, abolishing slavery in "the Territories of the United States now existing," and prohibiting it in those "which may hereafter be formed or acquired"; gratefully acknowledging that beneficent Providence which has permitted us to gather another sheaf of our harvest.

Resolved, That while we joyfully hail every indication of anti-slavery purpose on the part of the President of the United States, we deeply deplore the fact that he, who is so eager to repudiate and nullify the anti-slavery proclamations of his Generals, has no word of public official protest or condemnation against the scenes of cruelty now being enacted in the District of Columbia, by slaveholders attempting to reënslave their escaped victims; nor against the barbarous policy of his agent, Gov. Stanly, in closing

a look of deep anxiety; and his sudden appearance in this quarter is well calculated, in view of the state of affairs in the army before Richmond, to awaken feelings of uneasiness throughout the country.

The President returned to Washington on Wednesday.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, June 22, 1862.

It takes a great number of blows to teach a dumb beast intelligent tricks, and a man frequently suffers dversity for a long time before he learns the lesson rovidence endeavors to impress upon him. So with nations. But, above ordinary men, and communities, and nations, it takes a Congressman very many years to discover truth. A debate, two or three days since, in the House of Representatives, amazed me. I am not astonished at anything a "Democrat" can say or do; but when an intelligent Republican talks about "property in slaves," it astounds me. I don't propose to argue the question, but simply to make a statement of the "position" of a very clever member of the Republican party now in the House of Representatives. A bill was before the House providing compensation for damages inflicted upon loyal men by the war. One provision in it made an exception against the claim of any master for any interest in a slave killed, enticed away, etc., etc., through the operations of the war. A very proper provision, surely, or otherwise the government and the people are made to recognize that man is property. Mr. Olin, the Republican member from Troy, New York, objected to this provision in the bill. Mr. Olin is an able lawyer, and a very good-natured member of the House; but his remarks on this bill will sound strangely to Republicans who have been educated in the anti-slavery school. Here is something of what he said:

Now, Mr. Speaker, I appeal to the gentleman from Vermont whether it is or not idle to discuss that favorite humbug question of whether there is property in a negro slave. The discussion of this question of whether there can be no property in a negro slave has ceased to be either edifying or entertaining on the floor of Congress. Doubtless the pages or doorkeepers could discuss that question with unction (laughter). I do not think there is an argument within the limits of Whately, or any rhetorician, that could not be adroitly and glibly brought into requisition by every person who has had access to the floor of this House for the last five years. About one thing I suppose there is no dispute. I understand that by the laws of some of the States—laws which Congress has not yet assumed to entirely disregard—some men are entitled to command the services of certain other men. That is understood on all hands, and agreed to by everybody—by every court in the United States, from the justice of the peace up to Judge Taney.

Mr. POTTER—Down to Judge Taney (laughter).

Mr. OLIN—Down or up, as you please. I have no feeling or inclinations upon that subject, which would compel me to say up rather than down. I was about to add, that relation so created by the laws of those States was regarded by those States as a profitable relation, out of which man might make the same amount of money by the laws of his State as he might in selling a load of wheat, or any other article of merchandise. As a matter of fact, then, the question whether there can be property in man is resolved into simply this: if that relation be destroyed, the man entitled by law to the services of another loses the amount of property he could realize by a continuance of the relation; he has lost what is property, or its equivalent. It is quite idle, then, to argue that the law that would destroy that relation, that would annihilate it, is not such destruction of property as it would be if that property were horses, or any other chattel.

Mr. WALTON—Property in law, but not such as if destroyed by the casualty of war it is the duty of the government to pay for.

Yes, even Mr. Walton of overwhelmingly Republican Vermont had no doubt that slaves are "property in law!" But now Mr. Olin culminates:

Mr OLIN—Certainly. But I was not commenting upon that feature of the bill. I was commenting upon this disgraceful—and I say it now advisedly and meaningly—I was commenting upon this disgraceful feature of your bill which says that men shall be compensated for one species of property, but shall not be compensated for another.

Mr. HUTCHINS—I glory in that disgrace.

Mr. OLIN—Very likely; and it is not the first time a man has gloried in his shame (great laughter).

Now, Mr. Speaker, my objection to this bill is not what the gentleman from Vermont is opposed to, that it refuses compensation for the loss of slaves by the casualties of this war. If the negro slave shall happen to attain freedom by the exigencies of this rebellion, let him remain free.

I do not, however, like this feature of the bill which says, in substance, to all men, that for every possible injury to your real and personal property during the existence of this rebellion, by the rebel or Union forces, you shall have a claim against the United States; provided, always, it be not a claim for your interest in a negro slave. I do not believe such legislation is either very dignified or very honest. I do not believe that it is very becoming in the Congress of the United States.

You will notice the hit at Mr. Hutchins, who is a sterling, clear-headed anti-slavery man. A jeer, a laugh, would answer Mr. Olin's purpose, doubtless, better than a close argument on such a point. But what a spectacle! While the nation is deliberating upon general emancipation, a Republican member of Congress is denouncing Congress, and especially his fellow-Republicans, because they decline, as a part of the government, to recognize slaves as property! Let not those who are inclined to despair of eventual emancipation forget that our public men are, many of them, ignorant of the first principles of Abolitionism, or anti-slavery, and that in practice some of these same individuals are a great deal better than in theory and argument. Now, this very Mr. Olin is a genuine hater of slavery. He is not even a color-phobist. He has voted repeatedly in his own State to give the suffrage, without restriction, to the colored people of New York, as he stated the other day in a speech. He has voted for Emancipation in the District, for Confiscation and Emancipation bills. The only trouble is, that when it comes to argument, he cannot shake off the ideas which slaveholding politicians and statesmen have taught for fifty years. This is the case of many of our public men. The President doubtless is not free from the failing; but when a stern necessity arises, they will all act better than they talk—we will hope, at least.

One of the conspicuous events of the week was the presentation of an Emancipation-Memorial to the President, last Friday, by a deputation of Progressive Friends. You will publish a full account of the matter from another source, and I will not enlarge upon it. I am satisfied, from many facts that have come to my knowledge, that the presentation of the Memorial not only passed off very happily, but that it left a deep impression upon the mind of the President. The members of the deputation who spoke on the occasion—Mr. Johnson and Wm. Barnard—were endowed at the time with a calm, self-possessed, yet frank and communicative spirit, and the prefatory address of Mr. Johnson, his after colloquy with the President, and William Barnard's "exhortation," if I may use the language of the conference-room, were in excellent taste, and were full of truth and eloquence. Members of Congress who were present at the interview tell me that they were much impressed by it, and they are sure Mr. Lincoln was. The President was very kind and cordial, though doubtless a little cautious.

Since my last letter, the House of Representatives has passed an Emancipation Act for the rebel States, or rather for the leaders of the rebellion. There was a tremendous fight against the bill. The House was very squarely divided between the friends and the enemies of slavery. Every Border-State man, every Democrat, and almost every "conservative" Republican voted against the bill. The chief value of the bill was the test-vote obtained by it. The bill provides that all slaves of leading rebels who will not lay down their arms within sixty days after a Presidential proclamation shall be emancipated. For one, I have little faith that any such bill will set any slaves free. If the rebel States succumb at an early day, an act of amnesty will be granted by the President; and if they do not, and a great emergency arises, if slavery be touched at all, it will be overwhelmingly. Everything will be swept away, and no half measures will be instituted. Slavery will never be suddenly abolished in this way. It cannot be. But such acts weaken the institution and pave the way for its final destruction.

I see in the resolution offered in the Senate by Mr. Grimes, and in the bill introduced by Mr. Hale, the method by which slavery can be destroyed, and without any question of right or power. Mr. Grimes's resolution proposes to give the President the power to issue a proclamation calling upon all loyal men to rush to the defence of their country, whether white or black, bond or free; and in case a slave so offers to defend the government with his life, he shall be made free, as a reward for his patriotism. I do not quote the exact language of the joint resolution, but the ideas. Mr. Hale's bill provides for the same thing. No one will dispute the right of the President, in an emergency, to call upon the colored population of the South to fight on the side of the government, and to promise them freedom as a reward. There can be no question of his power to do this, and, in fact, a great many very intelligent anti-slavery men honestly believe that no one else has the power but the President. We must wait for him to move, and meantime rouse public sentiment to the right pitch.

The President waits for the people to demand emancipation—not simply Abolitionists and Republicans, *but the people*. Until they do so, he will not move in the matter, unless some unforeseen danger compels him. This at least is the opinion of very many of his friends here, and they do not blame the President for not taking so weighty a step without a clear demand for it by the people. What they do ask is, that in the minor matters connected with slavery there be a policy adopted—that slaves shall not be used by one General and whipped out of camp by another.

The Senate has at last agreed to the Pacific Railroad bill of the House, with sundry amendments. It is expected that in the course of the present week the Pacific Railroad bill, the Tax and Tariff bills, and some sort of a Confiscation bill, will be passed through Congress. An adjournment is near. The weather has been delightful of late, but the members dread the hot weather that is coming.

AVON.

SUNSHINE AND SHADOW.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I AM a three years old convert. I can point to the time when, and place where, God converted me from the error of my views and ways, and adopted me into his anti-slavery family. My conversion was slow and painful. I drank the wormwood and gall to the very dregs. But to-day I stand redeemed, regenerated, exulting in the joys of pardoned sin. "When I was a child, I spake as a child, I thought as a child." I drank the milk furnished from ecclesiastical fountains. "But when I became a man, I put away childish things." I then desired the "strong meat" provided by THE STANDARD. Of it I am an enthusiastic admirer. I prize its visits more highly than the weekly advent of any other literary visitor. When that is before me, I expect a treat of something fresh and luscious.

I regard you, Mr. Editor, and your able corps of co-editors and correspondents, as my teachers. To your teachings and opinions I pay great deference. Now, while I deferentially "sit at the feet of Gamaliel," will you please instruct me further?

I cannot add my voice to the tide of almost universal congratulation flowing on the lips of Abolitionists; many of whom seem to sing and shout as though they were basking in the brilliant beams of the anti-slavery millennium. My soul feels more like sighing out "the lamentations of Jeremiah" than "singing in the sublime raptures of Isaiah."

What are the exact grounds of hope? Was not the government *forced* into this war with slaveholders? Has it not steadily refused to free the slaves of rebels and confiscate their property? Has it not revoked and annulled the Fremont and Hunter proclamations? Has it not *refused* to revoke the infamous proclamation of Gen. Halleck and the dastardly order of Gov. Stanly? Are not scenes occurring in our Capital shameful enough to make the cheek of a devil blush for its honor? Is the nation any more tolerant of Abolitionists? Let the sixteen Senators absent from the slave States take their seats by the side of Senator Stark, and the 50 Representatives from Cottondom take their seats by the side of Vallandigham; and you will see a return to the delectable times of Pierce and Buchanan. They can at least hammer the head if they cannot answer the arguments of Senator Sumner.

"O, but slavery has received its death-thrust." I admit that it is stunned terribly and quivering fearfully. So was Col. McCarter, of the gallant 93d Pennsylvania Volunteers, at the battle of the Seven Pines; but he soon rallied, and is at the head of his regiment. So was the incomparable Sumner; but he rallied, and is now one of freedom's chiefest champions. The sires of '76 and '87 thought that the death-dart had been sheathed in the heart of slavery, but did it die?

When I was a boy, it was sometimes made my duty to watch the garden and the newly-sown grainfield, to keep the fowls from scratching and destroying the seed. On such occasions, growing weary of running after the winged depredators, I would hurl a "contraband" stone or stick, at their heads. Sometimes, with unerring aim it would "capsize" a cock; then I would think, you have received your "death-blow," and running up to my prostrate victim, find him with closed eyes, and quivering as if at the point of death. While deliberating whether or not I should imitate the example of the illustrious Moses, and bury him in the sand, there would be signs of returning strength. Soon he would spring to his feet, next run—a little one sided, 'tis true—but ere long he would be captain of a company of hens, strutting with true military air, flapping his wings in triumph, and crowing defiance. I need not stop to make the application.

Mr. Editor, did you ever go "possum" hunting? If you never did, I have. The "varmint" will run, and be active enough as long as there is any hope of eluding the hunter; but let it be detected, and the innocent, ingenuous creature "keels over," and lies as though it had indeed received the "death blow." But leave it a moment, and it soon finds that it has feet, and discovers a use for them.

Slavery, unmasked by the sword of war, and cowering beneath the world's indignant eye, penitently cries, "Peccav"—"Be merciful to me a sinner." But death-bed repentance and sudden conversions are suspicious. We do not believe the people are converted, they are simply alarmed, and that alarm is fast subsiding; every Federal victory more firmly fastening the fetters of the bondmen.

"But our soldiers sing the John Brown song." I have attended many revival meetings, and heard the vilest sinners sing:

"O no, O no, none but the righteous shall see God."

Or

"Here, Lord, I give myself away,
'Tis all that I can do."

'Twas the melody that touched them, not the sentiment.

I have indicated some difficulties; will you sweep them away, and oblige me and others by stating the ground upon which you think the present war will end slavery?

Truly yours, JUNIUS.

A DEPUTATION of Pennsylvania Quakers is in Washington, praying the President to proclaim freedom to the slaves, as the only way of putting down the rebellion. It is a curious fact that the non-combatants are the only advocates of this measure. The men who are doing the fighting do not ask for it.—*Springfield Republican.*

We do not know exactly what *The Republican* means by "non-combatants." If by that term it intends to designate the class who are conscientiously restrained from taking up arms, then its asserted "fact" is as false as its sneer is unworthy of candid journalism. But even if we suppose the term to have been used in its broader application, the statement is still grossly untrue; for, to say nothing of the friends of emancipation not in the army, there is ample ground for asserting that thousands, if not tens of thousands, of soldiers in the field are earnestly hoping and praying that the President may do the very thing which the "Pennsylvania Quakers" asked him to do. Of the delegation that bore the Memorial of the Progressive Friends to the President, one has lost in the war her only son—a noble young man, whose highest motive for enlisting was that he might aid in putting down slavery; while the heart of another is agonized with apprehension for the fate of a son who is hourly expecting to expose his life in battle on the soil of Virginia. Are mothers like these worthy of nothing better than a sneer from such journals as *The Republican*?

THE ORDEAL OF FREE LABOR IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—No reader should fail to examine carefully the report of Mr. Pierce, the goverment Superintendent of the Freedmen of South Carolina, which will be found entire on the first page. What a demonstration it affords of the safety and profitableness of emancipation, and of the utter absurdity of the pretence that the negroes would not work without the stimulus of the lash! Why will not the President and Congress at once determine, in the exercise of their undoubted authority, to make *all* the slaves as free as those in the Department of Gen. Hunter?

This report ought to find its way into every family in the free States. It could not fail to convince thousands of the folly of the popular objections to emancipation. How many of our conservative journals, religious and political, will be fair enough to print it? Watch and see.

FOURTH OF JULY!

IT has been the invariable custom of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society to commemorate this National Anniversary; not, however, in the boastful spirit and inflated manner of those who rejoiced in a Union with slaveholders, and who could see no contradiction, in such a Union, to the great principles of the immortal Declaration of Independence of July 4th, 1776. Our celebration has ever been with the distinct and simple purpose of recalling to the mind and impressing upon the heart of the people the great "self-evident truths, that *all* men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

Confident that our repeated testimonies on these National Anniversaries have been as good seed, sown upon soil long indeed stubborn and unyielding, but at length fertilized, and now full of promise of a glorious harvest—soon, we trust, to be gathered in—we again invite and summon the friends of freedom, of every name and age, and whether living within or beyond the bounds of this our honored Commonwealth, to meet with us, as aforetime, and in even greater numbers than ever before, at the beautiful and well-known FRAMINGHAM GROVE, on the ensuing Fourth of July.

We need say nothing of the beauty and many attractions of the spot, whether for adults or for the young. The day and the occasion constitute the real claims upon our attention, and to these let the Anti-Slavery men and women of Massachusetts, and of New England, respond fitly, as they so well know how to do.

The Boston and Worcester Railroad Co. will convey passengers to and from the Grove, upon their main road and its branches, on that day, at the following rates of fare:

From Boston, Worcester, and Millbury—70 cents for adults; 35 cents for children.

From Grafton—adults, 60 cents; children, 30 cents.

From Milford, Milford Branch (except Holliston), Northboro', Marlboro', Needham, Grantville, Cordaville, Southboro', and Westboro'—50 cents for adults; 25 cents for children.

From Natick, Holliston, and Ashland — adults, 40 cents; children, 20 cents.

Trains will run to the Grove as follows:

Leave Boston at 9.15, and Worcester at 9.40, a.m., stopping at way-stations; from Millbury, regular morning train; Milford, at 7.10, or 9.40; Northboro', at 7; Marlboro', at 7.24, or 10.15.

RETURNING, leave the Grove at 5.15 for Boston and Worcester; at 6.15 for Milford and Northboro' branches.

Admission fee to the enclosure of the Grove, for those *not* coming by the cars—adults, 10 cents; children, 5 cents. Those who come by railroad admitted free.

☞ The House at the Grove will be open for Refreshments.

In case of rain, the meeting will be held in Waverley Hall, opposite the railroad depot at South Framingham.

Addresses from well-known advocates of the cause, with Songs, and such recreation as this attractive place affords, will occupy the day. Among the speakers expected are WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, ANDREW T. FOSS, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, E. H. HEYWOOD, WM. WELLS BROWN, JOHN S. ROCK, Esq., Rev. DANIEL FOSTER of Kansas, and others.

Friends, one and all! Let us be like those who wait for their Lord, at his coming; that, whether it be at midnight, or at cock-crowing, or in the morning, we may be found ready, our lamps trimmed and burning. Now is the time for us to work with redoubled energy and zeal. The enemy everywhere is sowing tares. If possible, the very elect will be deceived. Let *not one* stay his hand, or hold back his testimony; but, with renewed purpose and with increased hope, do battle valiantly for God and humanity, until the diminishing advocates of slavery are driven forever from the field, and "Liberty be proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
E. H. HEYWOOD,
HENRY O. STONE,
CHARLES A. HOVEY,
} Committee of Arrangements.

PROSPECTUS OF THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL.

WHEN we consider that there is scarcely a party, sect, business organization or reform which is not represented in the press, it appears strange that women, constituting one half of humanity, should have no organ in America, especially devoted to the promotion of their interests, particularly as these interests have excited more wide-spread attention in this country than in any other, while in no other country can the double power of free speech and a free press be made so effective in their behalf. This appears stranger from the fact that conservative England has successfully supported a journal of this sort for years with ackowledged utility.

America needs such a journal to centralize and give impetus to the efforts which are being made in various directions to advance the interests of woman. It needs it most of all at this time, when the civil war is calling forth the capabilities of women in an unwonted degree, both as actors and sufferers—when so many on both sides are seen to exert a most potent influence over the destinies of the nation, while so many others are forced by the loss of husbands, sons and brothers to seek employment for the support of themselves and families. Social problems, too, are gradually becoming solved by the progress of events, which will leave to that of woman the most prominent place henceforth.

To meet this want of the times, we propose to establish a WOMAN'S JOURNAL, based on the motto, "Equal Rights For All Mankind," and designed especially to treat of all questions pertaining to the interests of woman and to furnish an impartial platform for the free discussion of these interests in their various phases. It will aim to collect and compare the divers theories promulgated on the subject, to chronicle and centralize the efforts made in behalf of women in this country and elsewhere, and to render all possible aid to such undertakings, while at the same time it will neglect no field of intellectual effort or human progress of general interest to men of culture. It will comprise reviews of current social and political events, articles on literature, education, hygiene, etc., a *feuilleton* composed chiefly of transalations from foreign literature—in short, whatever may contribute to make it a useful and entertaining family paper. Its columns will be open and respectful attention ensured to all thinkers on the subjects of which it treats, under the usual editorial discretion, only requiring that they shall accept *a priori* the motto of the paper, and shall abstain from all personal discussion.

Among the contributors already secured to *The Journal* whom we are permitted to name are Mrs. Lydia M. Child, Mrs. Caroline M. Severance, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mrs. Frances D. Gage, Miss Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Geo. Wm. Curtis, T. W. Higginson, Moncure D. Conway, Theodore Tilton, and William H. Channing; and other distinguished writers have promised us their aid. No pains will be spared to enlist the best talent in the country, and to make the paper one of literary merit, as well as practical utility.

The Journal will be issued semi-monthly, in quarto form, sixteen pages, at two dollars per annum, the first number appearing on the 1st of October next, and will be published in Boston.

Subscriptions will be received from this date by agents of *The Journal*, or by the Editors, Roxbury, Mass., Lockbox 2, to be paid on receipt of the first number of the *Journal*. In this connection, we would earnestly solicit the cooperation of friends of woman throughout the country, in extending the subscription-list of *The Journal*, and thus placing it on that permanent basis which will ensure its continued utility and success. Those interested in the enterprise are respectfully requested to communicate with the Editors at the above address.

A discount of twenty-five per cent. will be made to agents.

☞ Agents will please return all prospectuses with names before the 15th of July.

MARY L. BOOTH,
MARIE E. ZAKRZEWSKA, M. D.

Boston, May 15, 1862.

BROWNSON'S REVIEW.—Some very striking extracts from the latest number of this work will be found on the fourth page. We can think of no writer who has discussed the cause and remedy of the Rebellion in a more masterly way than Dr. Brownson. It will be seen that he holds and vindicates the very doctrine which Senator Sumner so recently illustrated and enforced.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE reaches us regularly like the sun, and always brings a collection of valuable articles, gathered with rare judgment, chiefly, though not exclusively, from the best foreign periodicals. It occupies a peculiar place among the magazines of the day, and one in which it has no peer. We value it highly, and can most sincerely commend it to our readers. Boston: Littell, Son & Co.

FREEDOM IN THE TERRITORIES.—The President having promptly affixed his signature to the bill prohibiting slavery in any Territory of the United States now existing or to be hereafter required, it is now a law. But what if the Supreme Court, remaining pro-slavery as at present, should pronounce it unconstitutional?

Proceedings of Congress.

FREEING THE SLAVES OF REBELS.

WE give the yeas and nays on the passage by the House of the bill freeing the slaves of rebels:

Yeas—Messrs. Aldrich, Alley, Arnold, Ashley, Babbitt, Baker, Baxter, Beaman, Bingham, Blake, Buffinton, Campbell, Chamberlain, Clark, Colfax, Frederick A. Conkling, Roscoe Conkling, Covode, Cutler, Davis, Dawes, Dunn, Edgerton, Edwards, Elliott, Ely, Fenton, Fisher, Frank, Gooch, Goodman, Gurley, Hale, Hanchett, Hickman, Hooper, Hutchins, Julian, Kelley, Kellogg (Mich.), Killinger, Lansing, Loomis, Lovejoy, Lowe, McKnight, McPherson, Mitchell, Moorehead, Morrill (Vt.), Nixon, Olin, Pike, Porter, Potter, Rice (Mass.), Rice (Me.), Riddle, Rollins (N. H.), Sargent, Sedgwick, Shanks, Shellabarger, Sherman, Spaulding, Stevens, Stratton, Train, Trimble, Trowbridge, Van Horn, Van Valkenburg, Verree, Wallace, Walton, Washburne, Wheeler, White (Ind.), Wilson, Windom, and Worcester—82.

Nays—Messrs. Ancona, Biddle, Blair (Va.), Brown (R. I.), Brown (Va.), Calvert, Clements, Cobb, Corning, Cravens, Crittenden, Delano, Diven, Dunlap, English, Granger, Grider, Hall, Harding, Harrison, Holman, Horton, Johnson, Kellogg (Ill.), Law, Lazear, Leary, Lehman, Mallory, May, Maynard, Menzies, Morris (Ohio), Norton, Odell, Pendleton, Perry, Phelps (Mo.), Price, Robinson, Rollins (Mo.), Sheffield, Shiel, Steele (N. J.), Thomas (Mass.), Thomas (Md.), Vallandigham, Woodward, Ward, Webster, White (Ohio), Wickliffe, Wood and Woodruff—54.

WESTERN VIRGINIA.

In the Senate, on the 23d, Mr. Wade reported from the Committee on Territories a bill admitting the State of Western Virginia into the Union, on certain conditions. One of these requires that the Convention to frame its Constitution shall therein provide that the children of all slaves born after the 4th of July, 1863, shall be free. Another, that the Convention shall include within the boundaries of the new State, in addition to the Counties embraced within the memorial, the Counties of Berkeley, Jefferson, Clark, Frederick, Warren, Page, Shenandoah, Rockingham, Augusta, Highland, Bath, Rockridge, Botetourt, Craig, Alleghany and Covington, all of which lie in the Shenandoah Valley, so that the Blue Ridge is made the boundary of the new State on the east. The Constitution which the Convention is to frame, embracing these provisions, must be ratified by the people, and the President, upon the receipt of the official evidence of this fact from the Governor, is to proclaim Western Virginia a State in the Union, whereupon she becomes such.

ENLISTMENT OF BLACK SOLDIERS.

In the Senate, on the 18th, Mr. Hale introduced a bill relative to further enlistments in the army. The bill provides, that when necessary to make further enlistments, the President is authorized, by proclamation, to call on all persons, without distinction of race, color, or condition, to enlist in the army. The bill further provides that every slave enlisted under such proclamation of the President shall be ever thereafter entitled to all the bounties, privileges, etc., of other soldiers in the army. The bill was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

POLYGAMY.

The House, on the 24th, concurred in the Senate's amendment to the House bill prohibiting polygamy in the territories of the United States, and disapproving and annulling the laws of Utah on that subject. The offence is punishable with a fine of not exceeding $500, and imprisonment for five years.

Chronicles of the War.

The Advance on Richmond.

There is nothing but the same old story from McClellan's army before Richmond—the story of what he is sure to do *when he is fully prepared*—of his careful protection of rebel property—of thousands of soldiers disabled by sickness, etc. Again and again have the correspondents told us that he was just on the point of taking Richmond, *save*; but their predictions thus far have been all falsified.

From the Southwest.

The expedition which proceeded up the White River from Memphis, several days since, for the purpose of removing the obstructions to its navigation, has been heard from. The expedition consisted of the gunboats St. Louis, Lexington, Conestoga and Mound City, and the Forty-third and Forty-sixth Indiana Regiments, commanded by Col. Fitch. On the 17th the expedition reached St. Charles, eighty-five miles above the mouth of the river, where two rebel batteries were found, mounting seven guns, and supported by a force of infantry. The gunboats engaged the batteries, while Col. Fitch landed his forces some two and a half miles below, and advanced to make an attack. During the action a rifled shot from one of the rebel batteries penetrated the steam drum of the Mound City, and the escaping steam killed and disabled most of her officers and crew. Col. Fitch then signalled the fleet to cease firing while he made an assault, and the batteries were carried by his troops in the most dashing and gallant manner, and with no loss of life. The rebel infantry were driven from the support of the guns, the gunners were shot at their posts, their commanding officer, Freye (formerly of the navy), was wounded and taken prisoner, and eight brass and iron guns, with ammunition, were captured. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded is estimated at 125. Our loss was caused solely by the escaping steam on board the Mound City.

A dispatch from Corinth, dated the 19th inst., states that our army has ceased its pursuit of Beauregard, and returned from Booneville, about nineteen miles below Corinth, to a more northerly position—probably to Corinth.

It is stated positively that Beauregard turned over his command of the rebel army of the Southwest to Bragg on the 15th inst., and left for Montgomery, where he arrived on the 17th, accompanied only by his personal Staff. Meantime, the rebels are said to be taking up the rails of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad above Tupello, for the purpose of relaying them between Meridian and Uniontown, in Alabama—thus forming a connection with Montgomery by rail to Selma, and thence by boat on the Alabama River. This will give them more immediate command of the Georgia system of railroads, and obviate the necessity of going round by Mobile—a route which is growing every day more precarious, in view of the contiguity of Commodore Porter's Mortar Fleet.

The rebels are gradually remarking the fact that the retreat from Corinth was not the great "strategic move" which the Richmond papers would fain have us believe. A correspondent of the Edgefield (S. C.) *Advertiser*, writing from Okolona, Miss., says, the retreat from Corinth had upon Beauregard's army "a terribly demoralizing effect." He says: "Many declare they will quit the service and go home," and "indeed the Tennesseeans are now deserting every day." It also appears that Beauregard has lost some of his laurels; "not a few of those who were heretofore foremost in his praise are now the most bitter in denouncing him." The same correspondent says the Southern army "suffered immensely from sickness at Corinth," and "the whole country from there to Columbus, Miss., is one vast hospital." There are two thousand sick at Okolona, and they are in a terribly suffering condition.

The War Department has received the important information, through a dispatch from Gen. Morgan, dated the 18th inst., that Cumberland Gap, leading into East Tennessee, has been occupied by the National forces. Gen. Morgan states that after great difficulty he reached a position near the Gap, and at 1 o'clock on the morning of the 18th he advanced to the Gap to attack the rebel forces, but was just in time to learn that their rear guard had left about four hours before his arrival.

We learn from Memphis that Gen. Lew. Wallace has arrived there and assumed command, and that one of his first acts was to take official possession of *The Argus* office—that paper having been persistent in its advocacy of the rebel cause. Two men connected with the press of New York have been appointed to supervise the editorial written for all the papers. Business matters in the city are rapidly improving. Boats coming North are loaded with freight and passengers. The oath of allegiance is administered to hundreds of people daily, many of whom have recently been in the rebel army.

From New Orleans.

By the Roanoke, at this port, we have New Orleans dates to the 15th. Gen. Butler sprung a surprise upon his troops on the 13th; but the response was so prompt that he issued a special order complimenting the men upon their alertness, and also upon their general behavior since they occupied the city. The General was serenaded on the 14th by a large party of Unionists. Of course, he made a speech, which was well received. A new daily paper has just been started, edited by the great financier, Jacob Barker, now 83 years old.

What the Rebels Say of McClellan.

From the Richmond Dispatch.

A MILITARY ADVENTURER.

In the early part of this war, Gen. McClellan wrote to a distinguished officer in the South, expressing his desire to serve in the Confederate army. If he dare deny the fact—and his recent reports prove that in mendacity he is the representative man of the Yankee nation—it can be demonstrated by such evidence as will close his lips in eternal silence. When he was at West Point, he affected to fraternize especially with those from the South, and to have little sympathy with those from his own section. We dare say that this was genuine, and that he really was anxious to serve under Jeff. Davis in this war; but the high bribe offered by Lincoln was too much for his easy virtue. He was not the man to sacrifice interest to sentiment, and of late has shown a disposition to become as extreme in his antagonism as in his friendship for the South.

The Richmond *Whig* copies the above, and adds:

"After the battle of Rich Mountain, both McClellan and Rosecranz declared to Confederate officers who were prisoners of war, that they would much rather be leading an army against Massachusetts than Virginia. This can be proved by unimpeachable authority if denied. This boasted soldier and 'gentleman' of the North is as much a hireling and adventurer as any Hessian in his ranks. If he has any conscience, it rebukes him daily for the base work in which he is employed. When to the pangs of remorse is added the shame of defeat, his condition will be such as even an enemy may pity."

The Protection of Rebel Property.

Two excursion parties from Washington to the army before Richmond, consisting of a number of Senators and Members of Congress from New York, Ohio, Maine, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, with Gov. Pierpont of Virginia, and others, returned a few days since. In the course of the journey Senator Wade had an interview with Gen. Sumner, to whom he spoke his mind in the emphatic Wade language concerning the practice of guarding the property of rebels by soldiers in the National army. He told him that this was not the way in which the people desired the war to be conducted, and that Generals were trying the patience of the country too far. Gov. Pierpont expressed similar views, saying that the loyal people of Virginia demanded that every house, horse, cow, or chicken belonging to a rebel, or liable to be converted to rebel uses, should be appropriated to the comfort of our soldiers. Gen. Sumner made little other reply than a remark to the effect that he was not the Commander-in-Chief, and could not justly be held responsible. A number of the members of Congress had experience of the manner in which the rules were laid down for the guidance of the army of the Potomac work.

Messrs. Diven and Smith of New-York, and others, were caught in a thunder-shower on the way from Gen. Heintzelman's to Gen. McClellan's headquarters. Some of them sought refuge in a house which had been left by a rebel, who is now serving in Gen. Johnston's army, in charge of the women of his household; but bayonets prevented their entrance, and they were assured by the soldiers on guard that the strictest orders had been given that no person should set foot within the premises.

The Members of Congress, who are among those not noted for their radical tendencies, learned a lesson in the rain. It was noted that the gentlemen who suffered this experience did not manifest a desire to discuss this part of the conduct of the war on their way home. Among the passengers who came up were Dr. Socrates N. Sherman, who will be in the House to vote to-morrow, and Gen. Jamieson, commanding the 1st Brigade of Kearney's Division, who is ill from typhoid fever.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

Negro Regiments.

Several days ago, a resolution was passed by the House inquiring of the Secretary of War whether Gen. Hunter has organized a regiment of negroes, fugitive slaves, etc., for the defence of the Union. Secretary Stanton has answered this resolution, to the effect that the Department has no official information on the subject. In order to ascertain if the information is true, a copy of the House resolution has been transmitted to Gen. Hunter to make a report thereon.

The Secretary adds that Gen. Hunter was not authorized to organize such a regiment; but, upon his requisition, arms and clothing have been sent to the forces under his command without instructions as to the manner in which they are to be used. He has not been furnished with arms to be placed in the hands of slaves and black fugitives. As to that part of the resolution calling for the orders and the correspondence between Gen. Hunter and the Department, the President instructs him (Stanton) to say that such a report at this time would, in his (the President's) opinion, be improper and incompatible with the public service.

The Employment of Blacks in the Army.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, June 18, 1862.

Gov. Pierpont of Virginia, since his return from the Peninsula, has expressed himself very strongly against the policy pursued there of keeping our soldiers at work on entrenchments and engaged in other menial occupation, while thousands of blacks are unemployed.

He says that the work of common day-laborers should not, except in cases of dire necessity, especially in a country so dangerous to health as the Peninsula, be added to the severe duties of a soldier. He declares himself in favor of impressing all the able-bodied negroes within reach into service, both those who ran away from their masters and those who are still engaged in raising rebel arms.

There is but little doubt that the Senate will pass Mr. Grimes's resolution respecting the employment of all who desire to serve the country in the war against the slaveholders' rebellion, introduced by Senator Grimes to-day. A decided majority has already, in voting on a provision in one of the Emancipation bills, pronounced in favor of the enlistment of loyal Africans.—*Tribune.*

Increase of Loyalty in Virginia.

I have received some facts corroborating the favorable statements that have been made of returning loyalty in Eastern Virginia. In Elizabeth City County, where the sentiment was nearly unanimous for secession, the people have nearly all returned to their homes, excepting the wealthy slave-owners; and the sentiment to-day among the actual population, is not only as strongly Union as it was before rebellious, but is also nearly as general for emancipation. At the recent large Union meeting held at Portsmouth, Hon. Joseph Segar inquired, in the midst of his speech, after strongly depicting the horrors of rebel misrule, "What shall be done with these leaders?" "Hang them!" shouted a voice. "Yes," replied the speaker, "and I would not only hang them, but I doubt whether I could emulate the Christian forgiveness of the Court when it sentences the criminal to death, and asks God to have mercy on their souls!" The storm of applause that greeted this sentiment it is impossible to describe. So, too, at the evening meeting in Norfolk—which was well attended and interesting—he put the question to the audience, whether, if forced to the choice, they would prefer to retain slavery and abandon the Union, or would choose rather to remain in the Union and let slavery perish. The almost unanimous reply of the crowd was, to let slavery perish, if necessary, but to retain the Union at all hazards. Mr. Segar is himself a good illustration of the rapid change of sentiment on the question of slavery. Though all his life a staunch loyalist, he is still decidedly pro-slavery; and yet his judgment has brought him to acknowledge the wisdom and necessity of the government policy of Emancipation, to which, like all intelligent men whose loyalty is of any value, he yields a cordial support.—*Cor. Times.*

The Blacks in Virginia.

Those professedly loyal journals which clamor for "the Union as it was," miss no opportunity to defame and traduce the blacks of the South. They have been assailed, even in the U. S. Senate, for not breaking out into general insurrection at a time when nearly all the whites of their section are not only in arms but organized and drilled for war. They have been charged with living in idleness on Federal rations, when in fact the whites of the revolted States have required and received far more relief from Federal stores than the blacks, and have not done a tithe so much in return for it. Lastly, they have been accused of preferring robbery to industry on the Virginian Peninsula, and to have organized bands for general plunder and assassination. *The Evening Post*, having been misled into giving currency to this latter calumny, has been favored with the following official refutation of it:

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY GOVERNOR,
YORKTOWN, Va., June 21, 1862.

To the Editor of The Evening Post:

In your editorial of 18th inst., commenting upon the letter addressed by Dr. Lieber to the Attorney-General, you use the following language:

"Gentlemen of our acquaintance, who have spent some time on the Yorktown peninsula, not at all untriendly to the blacks, complain that they are too often a nuisance, if not worse. 'They are thieves, highwaymen and spies for the enemy,' says one; 'and they have even attempted to murder our soldiers,' and allege that such a state of things is owing to 'a want of system,' which does not employ the negro element for the purposes of labor."

So far as this deprtment is concerned, the charges are untrue, and the tenor of the article, generally, very unjust. The "gentlemen of your acquaintance" were either most wofully mistaken in their observations, or else willfully blined by prejudice.

No sooner was Yorktown in possession of our troops, and placed under the command of Brig.-Gen. James H. Van Alen as Military Governor, than the "contrabands" were set to work under the immediate charge and control of the Provost-Marshal, and from that time to the present a more efficient or desirable class of laborers has not been at our disposal. They are strictly obedient to all military rules and regulations adopted for their discipline, and they perform their daily duties with commendable alacrity. They are in almost every case willing, contented and happy.

So soon as a negro comes within the limits of this command, no matter what his condition may be, his name is placed upon the "mess-roll," and if physically able, he is assigned to his appropriate gang, and set to work.

The white laborers formerly employed here in the various departments have been gradually withdrawn, and the blacks substituted by the Quartermaster, Commissary, Harbor-Master, and Medical Director, and gangs, numbering from twenty-five to one hundred and fifty, are daily detailed for each, under the charge of a member of the Provost guard.

The only difficulty which has yet arisen in the management of our negroes has been the tendency and liability to neglect and overtask them. Instances have occurred where they have been worked nearly all day without food, and very frequently all night and all day on Sunday.

These cases became so general as to call forth

Miscellaneous Department.

MY HEART AND I.

ENOUGH! we're tired, my heart and I.
We sit beside the headstone thus,
And wish that name were carved for us.
The moss reprints more tenderly
The hard types of the mason's knife,
As heaven's sweet life renews earth's life
With which we're tired, my heart and I.

You see we're tired, my heart and I.
We dealt with books, we trusted men,
And in our own blood drenched the pen,
As if such colors could not fly.
We walked too straight for fortune's end,
We loved too true to keep a friend;
At last we're tired, my heart and I.

How tired we feel, my heart and I!
We seem of no use in the world;
Our fancies hang gray and uncurled
About men's eyes indifferently;
Our voice which thrilled you so will let
You sleep; our tears are only wet:
What do we here, my heart and I?

So tired, so tired, my heart and I!
It was not thus in that old time
When Ralph sat with me 'neath the lime
To watch the sunset from the sky.
"Dear love, you're looking tired," he said;
I, smiling at him, shook my head:
'Tis now we're tired, my heart and I.

So tired, so tired, my heart and I!
Though now none takes me on his arm
To fold me close and kiss me warm
Till each quick breath end in a sigh
Of happy languor. Now, alone,
We lean upon this graveyard stone,
Uncheered, unkissed, my heart and I.

Tired out we are, my heart and I.
Suppose the world brought diadems
To tempt us, crusted with loose gems
Of powers and pleasures? Let it try.
We scarcely care to look at even
A pretty child, or God's blue heaven,
We feel so tired, my heart and I.

Yet who complains? My heart and I?
In this abundant earth no doubt
Is little room for things worn out:
Disdain them, break them, throw them by!
And if before the days grew rough
We *once* were loved, used—well enough,
I think, we've fared, my heart and I.

ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING.

DR. BROWNSON ON THE PEACE AND THE WAR POWERS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

From Brownson's Quarterly Review, for July.

VERY few of us who call ourselves loyal men and patriots had at the outbreak of the great Southern rebellion a perfectly clear and distinct perception of the constitutional principles on which it was to be suppressed. All were anxious for its speedy suppression, and that, too, in strict accordance with the Constitution, for, after saving the life and integrity of the Republic, our dearest wish was to save constitutional government; but our minds were not clear as to the principles on which it was to be done. To many it was evident that the peace powers of the Constitution were not adequate to the exigencies of the case, and to others it was not clear that the war power could be constitutionally invoked and exercised against our own citizens, even though in arms against the government.

The Administration adopted in the outset the theory that the rebellion is not civil war, and the rebels are not enemies, but citizens criminally combined to obstruct the administration of justice, and to resist the execution of the laws. This is evident from the President's inaugural address, and his proclamation calling out the militia. Congress itself at the extra session, unless its partial Confiscation Act be an exception, appears to have adopted the President's theory of the rebellion, and we can call to mind no act of that session incompatible with it. But on this theory the government is restricted to the peace provisions of the Constitution. The military forces are not an army operating against enemies, but a *posse comitatus* acting under the orders of the civil magistrate in aid of the civil authority, just as when called out to aid in suppressing a riot. On this theory, any and every assumption of war powers, or appeal to the rights of war, would be manifestly unconstitutional, and unjustifiable on any recognized principles of law. Yet the government, while apparently adopting this theory, which we call the peace theory, and assuming the country to be at peace, has blockaded the Southern ports, has made prizes, sent and received flags of truce, treated captured rebels as prisoners of war, released them on parole, or exchanged them, and done various other things which imply a state of war, and which would be highly improper, in some respects criminal, if the rebels are not enemies as well as criminal citizens.

The adoption of the peace theory by the government as the constitutional theory, and many of its acts being defensible only on the war theory, have continued and increased the confusion in loyal minds, and at the same time given the opposition in and out of Congress some show of reason in organizing themselves as a constitutional party, and in professing to oppose the government on strictly constitutional grounds. If the government adopts and insists on the peace theory, many of its acts are undeniably open to the strictures of such men as Powell of Kentucky, Saulsbury of Delaware, Vallandigham of Ohio, and Diven of New York. On this theory the various bills introduced into Congress, one of which has passed the house while we are writing, for confiscating the property of rebels and emancipating their slaves, are, if regarded as penal statutes against the rebels, of doubtful constitutionality. It may be plausibly argued, to say the least, that such measures are not within the purview of the peace powers of the Constitution, and, if defensible at all, are defensible only under the war power—only on the supposition that the property and slaves in question, are the property and slaves of enemies.

The Constitution says expressly that, "The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted." This, taken in an untechnical sense and as usually understood, positively forbids Congress to pass any confiscation laws, as a penalty for treason, except during the life of the traitor. Confiscation of rebel property as a punishment for treason for a longer period than the life of the traitor, would, consequently, according to this interpretation, be manifestly unconstitutional, and the courts would be obliged to treat the Act of Congress authorizing it as null and void. So of emancipation. As a peace power neither Congress nor the President has any power over the emancipation question. Slavery does not exist under or by virtue of the Constitution of the United States. So far as it has any legal existence at all in the Union, it exists by the *jus proprium* of the several States, and all the Federal government has authority to do with it is, to see that the constitutional provision for the return of persons held to service escaping from one State to another is carried out. If the rebel slaveholders are to be regarded not as enemies, but as simply criminal citizens, an act emancipating their slaves would be undeniably in violation of the Constitution, a usurpation of power that no lover of the Constitution can for one moment permit. So far we are disposed to agree with those members of Congress who oppose, on constitutional grounds, both confiscation and emancipation.

Yet, we heartily approve a stringent Confiscation Act, and demand full and immediate emancipation at least of all the slaves claimed by rebels. * * * * We hold, indeed, that all the property of the rebellious States, and all held under them, has lapsed to the United States by the rebellion of those States, for we hold, as our readers know, that State rebellion is State suicide, the death of the State, and, so far as it depended on the State, the dissolution of all civil society in its territory. But we demand, if Congress will not accept this doctrine, that it authorize the seizure of rebel property as a just indemnity, as far as it will go, of the expenses of the government and the losses by the rebellion of loyal private citizens.

But we cannot make this demand under the peace powers of the Constitution, or on the government theory of the rebellion. We can make it only under the war power, as one of the rights of war, and there only on the ground that the country is not at peace, that the rebellion is civil war, and that the rebels are not only criminal citizens and punishable as such, but enemies against whom the government has all the rights of war. We have against the rebels all the civil rights determined by the Constitution, and, besides these, all the rights of war against foreign enemies; for all authorities agree that a rebellion assuming certain dimensions is civil war, and the laws of war apply to civil or domestic war in like manner as to a foreign war, or, in other words, that the government has against domestic enemies all the rights that it has against a foreign State with which it is at war. That is to say, it has all the rights of a belligerent in addition to its rights as a sovereign.

This clears up the confusion we have referred to, as may be seen in Mr. Sumner's masterly speech in the Senate on Confiscation, the title of which we have quoted at the head of this article. Mr. Sumner has drawn sharply the distinction between the peace powers of the Constitution and the war power, and shown what we can and what we cannot do under each of them. We have done nothing but state in our own way his positions, and we refer to his speech for the authorities he cites in their support, and for the arguments by which he sustains them. In that speech he proves himself to be as scrupulously attached to the Constitution as he is ardent and unreserved in his devotion to liberty. He is not merely the warm-hearted philanthropist, the indefatigable advocate of negro emancipation, but also an able and profound constitutional lawyer.

* * * * * *

The question might arise whether the rebels are not States rather than individuals. The States have acted in their State capacity, and demanded the support of their citizens by virtue of their allegiance to the State. In such a case the demand for indemnity and security would be against the State, and not directly against the individual citizen. This view was taken and urged at some length in our pages last January, in the article on *The Struggle of the Nation for Life.* * * * *
We have since looked more closely into the question of State Sovereignty than we had previously done, and have come to the conclusion that the States are not and never were sovereign States either in law or in fact, that the American people are and always have been one political people, and that the undivided allegiance of the citizen is due to the United States, and to the United States alone. The State by rebellion forfeits all its rights, its very existence ceases to be a legal entity, and therefore the citizen is not bound by any of the acts or enactments of the pretended State after its rebellion. Hence he must be held individually responsible for his rebellion, and be accounted personally an enemy. * * *

The right to confiscate enemy's property under the war power is indubitable; but the war power itself—is that a constitutional power? As against foreign enemies it is certainly constitutional, and equally so, if the doctrine we have asserted be sound, against domestic enemies. The war power is not, as some seem to suppose, a power above or outside of the Constitution. Every sovereign State has, by virtue of the sole fact that it is a sovereignty, the inherent and indefeasible right of self-defence, or of self-preservation, to demand redress for injuries inflicted, and to guard against injuries threatened. In this is founded the right of war, whence flows the war power. The war power is inherent in the United States as a free, independent, and sovereign State, and is by the political people of the United States expressly vested by the Constitution in Congress, as any one may see by reading Article I., Section 8. The Constitution recognizes the war power, and confers it on Congress. It is, then, a constitutional power, as constitutional as any of the peace powers.

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The principle on which we defend the constitutionality of confiscation of enemy's property enables us to defend the emancipation of the enemy's slaves as a strictly constitutional measure. *We hold, as we endeavored to prove in our last Review, that the slaves in all the rebellious States are already legally free. The suicide of those States of itself emancipated the slaves, and the Federal government has no authority to remand them to slavery.*

* * * * * *

We have no doubt, as we maintained last October in our article on *Slavery and the War*, that the President, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, has the power to emancipate the slaves, when and where in his judgment it is a military necessity, or necessary to the military operations in hand. So, we think, has in his department any General having a departmental command, unless he has received positive instructions from his superior not to do it. The recent order of General Hunter, freeing the slaves in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, comprised within his military department, was, we have no doubt, a valid order, and the persons previously held to service in those States are now legally free—as are the persons so held freed by Gen. Fremont's proclamation, last autumn, in the Department of the West. The President is bound by the legal acts of his Generals, unless he can show, as we presume he cannot, that they have disobeyed orders, or disregarded their instructions. *If in these departments the slaves were legally freed by the orders of the Generals, the President cannot remand them to slavery by any modification of the orders after they were once formally issued.* Either the orders did not free the slaves, or those slaves are now legally free, whatever may have been the subsequent action of the President. If the President disapproved of the policy of those orders, he should have instructed his Generals not to issue them. After they are issued it is too late to revoke them. A third party has then an interest.

But the power of the Commander-in-Chief to emancipate the slaves is confined to strict military necessity, and he can do it only as strictly necessary to his military operations. The Commander-in-Chief may believe, though it would be highly advantageous to the general prosecution of the war to emancipate the slaves, that it is not in a military point of view absolutely necessary, and, therefore, very properly refuse to proclaim emancipation. The power, therefore, though in certain supposable cases in the President, yet as it is included in the war power of the government, is more properly vested in Congress. It is a war power rather than a military power, and emancipation must be regarded as a war measure rather than as a military operation, or military expedient. *The military can adopt it only as a measure necessary to its operations, but Congress can adopt it as a useful or advantageous war measure, a measure useful in prosecuting the war*, in securing its ends, or in bringing it to a more speedy and successful issue.

Judge Trumbull, in his able speech on introducing a bill into the Senate, at the opening of the session, for confiscating the property and emancipating the slaves of rebels, has dissipated the notion entertained by not a few, that the war power and the military power are one and the same, and that only the military can exercise the war power. He cleared up no little confusion by showing that the war power is the legitimate power of the government, and vested by the Constitution in Congress. The executive department, so to speak, of the war power, as of the other powers of the government, is committed to the President, who is made by the Constitution Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy; but the power to declare war, to vote supplies of men and money, and to determine the policy and purposes of the war, is expressly vested in Congress, and the President acts simply, in prosecuting it, as the executive department of the government. It is not true to suppose that the war power comes into play only under martial law, and that under the war power the civil gives way to the military. *Under our Constitution, the civil government holds the war power, and it is by the authority of the civil government that the military operates, or has the right to operate.* The President, as the chief civil magistrate of the nation, watches over the general welfare, takes care of the Republic, and sees that the laws are executed,—and to this end he is made Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, or the whole land and naval forces of the Union. *His military command is, therefore, subsidiary to his office as Chief Magistrate.* The military is only an arm of the civil government, and can rightly move only by its will; for it is as chief civil magistrate that the President calls out the militia to repel an invasion, or to quell an insurrection, or has the chief command of the land and naval forces.

It is of great importance to keep this always in mind. The civil authority, under our system, controls the military. *The war power is not the prerogative of the military, but of the civil government, and the military operate under and not over it.* * * * *

The real danger to our institutions comes from the tendency to devolve more and more of the duties of government on the President. He exercises in times of war extraordinary powers, and prudence requires that no more should be thrown upon him than properly belongs to his office. It is necessary to keep distinct and separate the several departments of government, as was intended by the Constitution, and for each department to take care to neglect none of its own functions, and to avoid encroaching upon those of either of the others. The habit of devolving upon the Executive duties which properly belong to Congress, or calling upon it to do what Congress itself can do, *is fraught with danger, and may, if not checked, cause or permit the President to grow not into a military chieftain, but into a civil chieftain, which is a great deal worse. For these reasons, we prefer that the war measure we insist on should be adopted by Congress rather than by the President*, for as civil magistrate the President has no power to do more than recommend it to Congress, and as the head of the military power he can do it only in a military emergency. In any case, it is more in accordance with the spirit of our institutions that it should be done by the military authority. Besides, Congress has freer scope under the war power, and may take a larger and more liberal view of what is called military necessity than the Commander-in-Chief can. It can decree emancipation as a useful war measure, though not in the strictest sense of the term absolutely necessary, and even though it be not morally impossible to suppress the rebellion without decreeing it. It can do it whenever it regards it, in the exercise of its best judgment, a wise and prudent measure, and likely to be highly advantageous in prosecuting the war, or in obtaining the desired security for the future.

We assert the constitutional right of Congress under the war power to declare universal emancipation as a war measure. But, as a war measure, it is obvious that Congress can adopt it *only while the war is pending.* When the war is over and peace has returned, Congress has no longer any power over it, for we have seen that emancipation in the States does not come within the scope of the peace powers of the Federal government. * * * * *

We have great respect for the Chief Magistrate of the Union; we have great confidence in his shrewdness and judgment, and would treat with grave consideration any opinions, wishes, or even prejudices of his, however unreasonable they might appear to ourselves; *but we must confess that we have great difficulty in not losing our patience when we hear people talk about* GRADUAL *emancipation. What kind of use will gradual emancipation be as a war measure?* If you mean to adopt emancipation as a war measure, you must do it at once, and speedily; if you mean to recommend it only as a peace measure, to be carried out after the war is over, we see not what right you have to meddle with it. * * * * *

We have never heard a respectable argument in favor of gradual emancipation. "Hope deferred makes the heart sick," and the very worst school possible in which to acquire the habits of freemen is slavery. What good purpose do you propose to answer by gradual emancipation that could not be answered equally, if not better, by immediate emancipation? * * * * * *

There is another view of the case which so religious a man as the President ought not to neglect. Slavery is an injustice, a sin in the State that authorizes it, and in our case becomes a national sin the moment the government gets the constitutional power to abolish it, and neglects to exercise that power. * * *

One way, and one way only is open to us; one alternative yet remains, and that is to do what should have been done one year ago—*decree complete and immediate emancipation.* It is the only means left us of escaping a shameful mutilation of the Republic. In the mean time, the President hesitates, longs but fears to strike, and Congress wrangles, and lets the golden moment glide by. Terrible will be the responsibility of the government, both executive and legislative, if the rebellion succeeds. On them, not on the rebels, will fall the blasted curse of outraged humanity. * * * * * * *

We, however, still hope, before we appear in print, Congress will have reconsidered its vote rejecting the Emancipation Bill, and have passed an act freeing all the slaves of the rebels.

* Art. V.—*Indemnity for the Past and Security for the Future.* Speech of Hon. CHARLES SUMNER, of Massachusetts, on his Bill for the Confiscation of Property and the Liberation of Slaves belonging to Rebels. In the Senate of the United States, May 19, 1862.

THE CHANGED CROSS.

IT was a time of sadness, and my heart,
Although it knew and loved the better part,
Felt wearied with the conflict and the strife,
And all the needed discipline of life.

And while I thought on these, as given to me
My trial tests of faith and love to be,
It seemed as if I never could be sure
That faithful to the end I should endure.

And thus, no longer trusting to His might
Who says, "We walk by faith and not by sight,"
Doubting, and almost yielding to despair,
The thought arose—*My cross I cannot bear!*

Far heavier its weight must surely be
Than those of others which I daily see;
Oh, if I might another burden choose,
Methinks I should not fear my crown to lose.

A solemn silence reigned on all around,
E'en nature's voices uttered not a sound,
The evening shadows seemed of peace to tell,
And sleep upon my weary spirit fell.

A moment's pause—and then a heavenly light
Beamed full upon my wondering, raptur'd sight,
Angels on silvery wings seemed everywhere,
And angels' music thrill'd the balmy air.

Then One, more fair than all the rest to see,
One, to whom all the others bow'd the knee,
Came gently to me as I trembling lay,
And—"Follow Me," he said, "I am the Way."

Then speaking thus, He led me far above,
And there, beneath a canopy of love,
Crosses of divers shape and size were seen,
Larger and smaller than mine own had been.

And one there was most beauteous to behold,
A little one, with jewels set in gold—
Ah, this, methought, I can with comfort wear,
For it will be an easy one to bear.

And so the little cross I quickly took,
But all at once my frame beneath it shook;
The sparkling jewels, fair were they to *see*,
But far too heavy was their *weight* for me.

This may not be, I cried—and looked again
To see if any there could ease my pain,
But one by one I pass'd them slowly by,
Till on a lovely one I cast my eye.

Fair flowers around its sculptur'd form entwin'd,
And grace and beauty seemed in it combin'd;
Wondering I gazed, and still I wonder'd more,
To think so many should have pass'd it o'er.

But oh, that form so beautiful to see
Soon made its hidden sorrows known to me:—
Thorns lay beneath those flowers and colors fair;
Sorrowing I said—This cross I may not bear.

And so it was with each and all around,
Not one to suit my need could there be found;
Weeping, I laid each heavy burden down,
As my Guide gently said, "No cross, no crown."

At length to Him I raised my saddened heart;
He knew its sorrows, bid its doubts depart:
"Be not afraid," He said, "but trust in me,
My perfect love shall now be shown to thee."

And then, with lighten'd eyes and willing feet,
Again I turned my earthly cross to meet,
With forward footsteps turning not aside,
For fear some hidden evil might betide.

And there, in the prepar'd, appointed way,
Listening to hear and ready to obey,
A cross I quickly found of plainest form,
With only words of love inscribed thereon.

With thankfulness I raised it from the rest,
And joyfully acknowledg'd it the best,
The *only* one of all the many there,
That I could feel was *good* for me to bear.

And while I thus my chosen one confess'd,
I saw a heavenly brightness on it rest,
And as I bent, my burden to sustain,
I recognized my own old cross again!

But oh, how different did it seem to be,
Now I had learned its preciousness to see,
No longer could I unbelieving say—
Perhaps another is a better way.

Ah, no! henceforth my one desire shall be,
That He who knows me best should choose for me;
And so, whate'er His love sees good to send,
I'll trust it's best—because He knows the end.

"For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord."—Isa. lv. 8.

"For I know the thoughts that I think towards you, thoughts of peace and not of evil, to give you an expected end."—Jer. xxix. 11.

And when that happy time shall come of endless peace and rest,
We shall look back upon our path and say—*It was the best.*

L. P. W.

TWIN BROTHERS IN THE ARMY.

THE following simple and touching letter is from the brother of John W. Chase, a member of Co. G, 4th R. I. Regiment, who recently died in the hospital in Carolina City. James and John were twins, and both members of the same regiment—noble boys, of whom a friend writes very justly: "This letter will convey a touching idea of the loss which the mother of the twins has experienced in the death of one of these Christian youths, who might truly be called 'Cromwellian soldiers.' With genuine patriotism, childlike faith in God, a filial and fraternal affection, James conveys the sad news to his mother; and this is another instance, in the humble classes, of that genuine heroism which has been brought to light by this war—such indeed as will pale the false glare of the age of chivalry (so called); and henceforth the light of true heroism will be shed upon the world, not from the dead past, but from the now beclouded skies of our own national horizon." G. H.

CAROLINA CITY, Sat., 26th.

Dear Mother: I now take my pen to say that there has been a great change since I wrote last. John has got through fighting, and with all his hardships and trials. He has gone to rest. His sickness was short. He was seized with typhoid fever, and soon followed Denham and William. This makes three deaths in our company.

John wrote you a letter two or three days before he was sick. Then, mother, he was as well as I was; so you see we cannot tell what to-morrow will bring forth. Death is certain, and life is uncertain. But the Lord knows best about these things; and when He calls us, we have to go. Oh! I wish that I was in John's place! Thank God, mother, there is one consolation, that if we do not see each other again in this world, we shall in the one above.

I prayed every night while John was sick for the Lord to bless him. I left him in His hands. It was so ordered that John was not to be shot on the battlefield, but to be taken by sickness, and it has turned out all for the best.

I have tried to do my duty since I have been in the war. I have felt that this was the place to remember and look to Him who was our best friend. And He proved so. He brought John and me both safe out of danger in the field, and now He has called one of us to go to Him. He may call for me next. I don't care, mother, how quick, for I can say that I am ready to go when God calls me, and I believe I shall meet John with the angels above.

He died at four o'clock this morning. I send you a lock of his hair. Remember, mother, if we part with our friends here, we shall sooner or later meet them before God.

I close by saying, don't take it too hard. The Lord bless you!

From your dear son, J. S. C.

"SAMBO, what you tink of de futur state?" "I tink him berry long one!" "But, I mean do you tink de wicked will be condigned to eberlastin' misery?" "I don't tink no such ting. I tink Gabriel 'minister de oaf and let em go!"

THE bishop of Reiz thanked the bishop of Lisieux for having consecrated him. "It is for me," said the latter, "to thank you. I was the ugliest bishop in France until you were elected."

HETTY MARVIN.

WHEN the British and tories attacked New London, Connecticut, in 17—, and set a price on the head of Gov. Griswold, the latter fled to the town of L——, where his cousin, Mrs. Marvin, hid him, for some days, in a secluded farm-house. But at length the subtle foe discovered his retreat, and one sunny afternoon in May, he was routed from his hiding-place by the tidings that a band of horsemen were approaching to capture him.

His only chance of escape was to reach the mouth of a little creek which emptied itself into the Connecticut river, just above the entrance of the latter into Long Island Sound. There he had a boat stationed, with two faithful attendants hidden beneath the high banks of the creek. The distance from the farm-house to the boat was two miles by the usual travelled road. But a little sheep-path across the farmer's orchards would bring him to the road only a mile from the boat, and save a quarter's length of his fearful run for life.

Just where the narrow path from the orchard opened into the road, Hetty Marvin sat with her dog Towser.

Thus sat Hetty Marvin, the young daughter of Gov. Griswold's cousin, when her hunted friend sprang past her into the road, to escape his pursuers. Hetty was a timid child of about twelve years; yet thoughtful and wise beyond many of her elders. She was frightened by the headlong haste with which the Governor rushed across the meadow. But she quickly comprehended the scene, and instantly quieted her faithful Towser, who, though a friend of the family guest, thought it becoming to bark loudly at his hurried steps.

Her wise forethought arrested the Governor's notice, and suggested a scheme to delude his pursuers. "Hetty," he said, earnestly, "I am flying for my life, and unless I can reach my boat before I am overtaken, I am a lost man. You see the road forks here. Now I want to run down this way to the river. But you must tell the rascals who are chasing me that I have gone up the road to catch the mail wagon, which will soon be along, you know. Then they will turn off the other way."

"Oh, cousin," said the little girl, in an agony of distress, "I cannot tell a lie; indeed, I cannot. Why did you tell me which way you were going?"

"Hetty, my child, surely you would not betray me to my death. Hark! they are coming; I hear the click of their horses' feet. Oh! Hetty, tell them I have gone up the road instead of down; and heaven will bless you."

"Heaven never blesses those who speak falsely, cousin. But I will not tell them which way you go, even if they kill me; so run quickly as possible."

"It's no use; unless I can deceive them, I am a dead man."

"Cousin, cousin, hide under my web of cloth; they'd never think of looking here for you. Come, get down as swift as you can, and I'll cover you, and stand sprinkling my linen."

"It's my only chance, child; I'll get down as you say." And suiting the action to the word, the Governor was soon hidden under the ample folds of the cloth.

Angry that their expected prey had escaped from the house where they hoped to secure him, the six mounted tories, headed by a British officer, dashed along the road in swift pursuit. At sight of the little girl in the meadow, the leader of the party paused.

"Child," he said, sternly, "have you seen a man running away hereabouts?"

"Yes, sir," replied Hetty, trembling and blushing.

"Which way did he go?"

"I promised not to tell, sir."

"But you must or take the consequences."

"I said I wouldn't tell if you killed me," sobbed the frightened girl.

"I'll have it out of her," exclaimed the furious officer, with an oath.

"Let me speak to her," said his tory guide; "I know the child, I believe. Isn't your name Hetty Marvin?" he asked, pleasantly.

"Yes, sir."

"And this man who ran by you a few minutes ago was your mother's cousin, wasn't he?"

"Yes, sir; he was."

"Well, we are friends of his. What did he say to you when he came along?"

"He—he told me—that he was flying for his life."

"Just so, Hetty; that was very true. I hope he won't have to fly far. Where was he going to try to hide? You see I could help him if I knew his plans."

Now Hetty was not a whit deceived by this smooth speech; so she answered her questioner candidly: "My cousin said that he was going down this way to the river, where he had a boat; and he wanted me to tell the men that were chasing him, that he had gone the other way to catch the mail waggon."

"Why didn't you do as he bid you, then, when I asked where he had gone?" thundered the officer, fiercely.

"I could not tell a lie, sir," was the tearful answer.

"Hetty," again began the smooth-tongued tory, "you are a nice child. Everybody knows you are a girl of truth. What did your cousin say when you told him you couldn't tell a falsehood?"

"He said he shouldn't think I'd betray him to his death."

"And then you promised him that you wouldn't tell which way he went, if you was killed for it?"

"Yes, sir."

"That was a brave speech; and so, I suppose, he thanked you for it, and ran down the road as quickly as possible?"

"I promised not to tell where he went, sir."

"Oh! yes, I forgot. Well, tell us his last words, and we won't trouble you any more."

"His last words were, 'It's my only chance, child, and I'll get down as you say.'" And overcome by the fright, and the sense of her kinsman's danger should they rightfully interpret the language which she had reported, she sobbed aloud, and hid her face from sight.

Her tormenters did not stay any longer to soothe or question her. They had got, as they supposed, the information which they wanted, and pushed rapidly on down to the river. Now, the Governor had arranged a signal with his boatmen, that a white cloth by day, or a light in the night, displayed from the attic window of his hiding-place, which was just visible at the mouth of the creek, should inform them if he were in trouble, and put them upon the alert to help him. As soon, therefore, as he started from his cousin's, the signal floated from the window to warn them. And when they saw the pursuing party dash madly down toward the river, and recognized the British uniform of the leader, they pulled swiftly out to sea. The horsemen reached the shore only in season to see the boat, with two men in it, nearly out of sight, and supposing their destined prey had escaped, relinquished the pursuit.

Meanwhile, the hunted victim lay safe and quiet where his little cousin had hidden him, until the time came for her return to the house for supper. Then he bade her go as usual to her home, telling her to ask her mother to place the signal lamp, as soon as it grew dark, in the window for the boatmen, and to send him there some supper, with his valise, which, in the hurry of departure, he had left behind.

The signal recalled the boat, which after twilight had ventured in sight of the shore and the farm-house; and the Governor quietly made his way to the river in safety. When he rejoined his father in a secure home, he named his infant daughter, which had been born in his absence, "Hetty Marvin," that he might be daily reminded of the little cousin who had saved his life.—*Student and Schoolmate.*

AMERICAN GENTILITY.—In European countries the aim at anything like gentility implies keeping one or more domestics to perform household labors; but in our free States every family aims at gentility, while not one in five keeps a domestic. The aim is not a foolish one, though follies may accompany it—for the average ambition of our people includes a certain amount of refined cultivation;—it is only that the process is exhausting. Every woman must have a best parlor, with hair-cloth furniture and a photographic book; she must have a piano, or some cheaper substitute; her little girls must have embroidered skirts and much mathematical knowledge; her husband must have two or even three hot meals every day of his life; and yet her house must be in perfect order early in the afternoon, and she prepared to go out and pay calls, with a black silk dress and card case. In the evening she will go to a concert or a lecture, and then, at the end of all, she will very possibly sit up after midnight with her sewing-machine, doing extra shop-work to pay for little Ella's music-lessons. All this every "capable" New England woman will do, or die. She does it, and dies; and then we are astonished that her vital energy gives out sooner than that of an Irishwoman in a shanty, with no ambition on earth but to supply her young Patricks with adequate potatoes.—*T. W. Higginson.*

A CURE FOR LONG SERMONS.—A sufferer from long sermons suggests to the London *Times* that, after half an hour's preaching, the bottom of the pulpit should be contrived to come out, on the principle of an *oubliette*, and project the clerical transgressor into the gulf below. Another proposes that a sounding-board or cover, in the shape of an extinguisher, made exactly to fit the pulpit, be suspended above it, and that at the expiration of twenty-five minutes from the delivery of the text it should begin to descend, so as, exactly at the half hour, to "shut up" the lengthy preacher.

FAITH AND WORKS.

NOT what we think, but what we do
Makes saints of us; all stiff and cold,
The outlines of the corpse show through
The cloth of gold.

And in despite the outward sin,
Despite belief with creeds at strife,
The principle of love within
Leavens the life.

It is for fancied good, I claim,
That men do wrong, not wrong's desire;
Wrapping themselves, as 'twere, in flame,
To cheat the fire.

Not what God gives, but what he takes
Uplifts us to the holiest height;
On grief's rough crags life's current breaks
To diamond light.

From transient evil, I do trust
That we final good shall draw;
That in confusion, death, and dust,
Are light and law;

That He whose glory shines among
The eternal stars descends to mark
This foolish little atom, swung
Loose in the dark.

But though I should not thus receive
A sense of order and control,
My God, I could not disbelieve
My sense of soul.

For though, alas! I can but see
A hand's breadth backward or before,
I *am!* and since I am, must be
Forevermore.

—*Christian Inquirer.* ALICE CARY.

THE DESIRE OF THE SOUL THAT PERCEIVES GOD.

THEE, therefore, O most merciful God, do I invite into my soul, which thou preparest for thy reception by the desire which thou thyself inspirest. Enter into it, I beseech thee; conform it to thyself, that thou mayest possess that which thou didst create and hast renewed, that I may have thee as a seal upon my heart. I pray thee, O most holy One, forsake not him that calleth on thee. For before I called upon thee, thou hadst called me, and hadst sought me; that I thy servant might seek thee, and seeking find thee, and love thee when found. I have sought and found thee, O Lord, and I desire to love thee. Increase my desire, and grant what I seek; since, if thou gavest to me all that thou hast made, this will not satisfy thy servant, unless thou gavest thyself. Give me, then, thyself; O my God, restore thyself to me. I love thee; and if it is but a weak love, let it be strengthened. I am bound by the love of thee; I burn with desire of thee; I am delighted by thy sweet remembrance.

Behold, while my soul pants after thee, and meditates thine ineffable holiness, the very burden of the flesh grows light, the tumult of thought is still, the weight of mortality and wretchedness loses its heavy dullness; all things are hushed, tranquillity reigns. The heart grows warm, the spirit rejoices, memory is fresh, the intellect is clear; and all the soul, on fire with desire of seeing thee, feels itself rapt by love of things invisible. Let my spirit take wings as the eagle's; may it mount up, and not faint; may it fly even to the beauty of thy dwelling-place, and the throne of thy glory; and there, on the table which thou hast prepared, may it feed with the heavenly citizens beside the flowing waters. Be thou our joy, who art our hope, salvation and redemption; be thou our joy, who art to be our reward. May my soul ever seek thee, and do thou grant that in seeking thee it fail not.—*St. Augustine's Manual of Devotion.*

EPITAPHS.

THE wife of Peter the Great took more care of her own fame than that of her husband, when she had inscribed on his sarcophagus:

CATHERINE THE GREAT TO PETER THE FIRST.

Ben Jonson's dust lies under the simple exclamation:

O RARE BEN JONSON.

Edmund Spenser, of "The Fairy Queen," is content with a plain prose:

Here lyes (expecting the second
Comminge of our Saviour Christ
Jesus) the body of Edmund Spenser,
The Prince of Poets in his tyme,
Whose divine spirit needs noe
Other witnesse than the works
Which he left behinde him.
He was borne in London in the year 1553,
And died in the year 1598.

A celebrated composer has:

Here lyes
Henry Purcell, Esq.,
Who left this life,
And is gone to that blessed place,
Where only his Harmony
Can be exceeded.
Obiit 21 die Novembris
Anno Ætatis suæ 37
Annoque Domini, 1695.

Prior, who wrote his own epitaph, did what every man does when he is in a false position—tried to be funny:

Nobles and Heralds, by your leave,
Here lie the bones of Matthew Prior;
The son of Adam and of Eve,
Can Bourbon or Nassau go higher?

There is something very significant in the "label" on the great Earl of Chatham:

Erected by the King and Parliament,
As a testimony to
The Virtues and Ability
of
William Pitt, Earl of Chatham,
During whose administration, in the reigns of
George II. and George III.,
Divine Providence
Exalted Great Britain
To a height of Prosperity and Glory
Unknown in any former age.

We never could admire the much puffed one on Sir Isaac Newton:

Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night;—
God said, "Let Newton be!" and all was light.

Jonson is celebrated for his epitaphs upon two high-born ladies, but they partake, we think, of more conceit than poetry:

Underneath this stone doth lie
As much virtue as could die;
Which, when alive, did vigor give
To as much beauty as could live.
If she had a single fault,
Leave it buried in this vault.

Underneath this sable hearse
Lies the subject of all verse,
Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother;
Death, ere thou hast slain another,
Fair, and wise, and good as she,
Time shall throw his dart at thee.

From this, let us turn to Pope's lament over Gay, the poet:

Of manners gentle, and affections mild,
In wit a man, simplicity a child.

But perhaps incongruous images were never forced together more absurdly than in that of Sir Robert Boyle, whose monumental inscription is:

Sacred to the Memory
of Robert Boyle,
the Father of Science and
Brother to the Earl of Cork.

THE KANGAROO AND ITS PUPS.—How many times, on my hunting excursions, have I painfully witnessed the poor doe—when hard pressed by the hounds—hastily pull from her pouch the almost hairless and utterly helpless little Joey (as its offspring is called), and cast it, whilst at full speed, into a tuft of high grass, or clump of thick fern plants, as the last resource whereby to save herself from the ruthless fangs of her hungry pursuers. And hundreds of times have I seen our magnanimous dogs spring over the Joeys, as if such puny prey were unworthy of their notice, and continue in hot pursuit of the poor panting mother, who, if so fortunate as to outstrip the hounds, in one hour's time would instinctively return to the spot where she had left her young one, and, on recovering her dear Joey, would hurriedly replace it in its sanctuary, and retire far away, amidst the hills and valleys, for many successive weeks. But Master Joey is frequently captured by the huntsman, reared up by hand, and invested with a bright scarlet collar, to distinguish him from his uncivilized brethren. I brought up one, which formed a great source of mirth and admiration to us all. To witness gentle, unsophisticated Joey turn out of his warm crib at daylight, and join the hounds and half-a-dozen huntsmen, displaying his great agility and delight by clearing dogs, buckets, and iron pots at a single bound, added considerably to the fun and good-humored witticisms which always enliven an early hunting party, even in the green forests of the antipodes. In the heat of the chase, gentle Joey—arrived at the age of two years—could keep pace with the swiftest of our pack; invariably took his place, leaping in the midst of them, and was always in at the death.—*Thirty-three Years in Tasmania and Victoria.*

WILLIAM COLE SAYS: "This very curious prayer was brought to me, August 21st, 1776, by Dr. Edwin, of Cambridge, who took it out of an old *Fog's Journal:* 'O Lord! thou knowest that I have nine houses in the city of London, and likewise that I have lately purchased an estate, in fee-simple, in the County of Essex; Lord, I beseech thee to preserve the two Counties of Essex and Middlesex from fires and earthquakes; and as I have a mortgage in Hertfordshire, I beg thee likewise to have an eye of compassion on that County. And, Lord, for the rest of the counties, thou mayest deal with them as thou art pleased. O Lord! enable the banks to answer all their bills, and make all my debtors good men. Give a prosperous voyage and return to the Mermaid sloop, which I have insured; and, Lord, thou hast said "That the days of the wicked are short," and I trust thou wilt not forget thy promises, having purchased an estate in reversion from Sir J. P., a profligate young man. Lord, keep our funds from sinking, and, if it be thy will, let there be no *sinking* fund. Keep my son Caleb out of evil company and from gaming-houses. And sanctify, O Lord! this night to me by preserving me from thieves and fire, and make my servant honest and careful, whilst I thy servant lie down in thee, O Lord! Amen.'"

DO YOUR OWN WORK.—Enlarge not thy destiny, says the oracle; endeavor not to do more than is given thee in charge; the one prudence of life is concentration; the one evil is dissipation; and it makes no difference whether our dissipations are coarse or fine. Property and its cares, friends and a social habit, or politics, or music, or feasting—everything is good which takes away one plaything and delusion more, and drives us home to add one stroke of faithful work. Friends, books, pictures, *lower duties*, talents, flatteries, hopes—all are distractions which cause oscillations in our giddy balloon, and make a good poise and a straight course impossible. You must elect your work; you shall take what your brain can, and drop the rest. Only so can that amount of vital force accumulate which can make the step from knowing to doing.—*Emerson.*

OLD Parson Rives of Tennessee was sent by a conference to preach to the negroes in a distant part of the State. He was a man of very dark complexion. Meeting one of the saucy overseers, the parson entered into conversation with him, and said: "Perhaps you don't know me;